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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM THE

BIRTH OF CHRIST, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF

CHURCH POWER,

ARE CONSIDERED IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF

Learning and Philosophy,

AND THE

POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE

LEARNED, JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

And Chancellor of the University of Gottingen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES
AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINÉ, D. D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN INDEX.

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THE NINTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE reign of Charlemagne had been singularly auspicious to the christian cause; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate and establish the religion of Jesus among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son Lewis, undeservedly surnamed the Meek, inherited the defects of his illustrious father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. A petty king of Jutland, named Harald Klack, being driven from both his kingdom and country, in the year 826, by Regner Lodbrock, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and implored his succours against the usurper. Lewis granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition however that he would embrace Christianity, and admit the ministers of that religion to preach in his dominions. Harald submitted to these conditions, was baptized with his brother at Metz, A. D. 826, and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, Ansgar or Anschaire and Authbert; the former a monk of Corbey in Westphalia, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. These venerable missionaries

The Swedes,
Danes, and
Cimbrians
converted.

preached the gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years, to the inhabitants of Cimbria and Jutland.

II. After the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ansgar made a voyage into Sweden, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were also crowned with a distinguished success. As he returned from thence into Germany in the year 831, he was loaded by Lewis the Meek with ecclesiastical honours, being created archbishop of the new church at Hamburgh, and also of the whole north, to which dignity the superintendence of the church of Bremen was afterward added in the year 844. The profits attached to this high and honourable charge were very inconsiderable: while the perils and labours, in which it involved the pious prelate, were truly formidable. Accordingly Ansgar travelled frequently among the Danes, Cimbrians, and Swedes, in order to promote the cause of Christ, to form new churches, and to confirm and establish those which he had already gathered together; in all which arduous enterprises he passed his life in the most imminent dangers, until he concluded his glorious course, A. D. 865.^a

III. About the middle of this century the Mæsi-^bans, Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted to Christianity by Metihodius and Cyril, two Greek monks, whom the empress Theodora had sent to dispel the darkness of these idolatrous nations.^c The zeal of Charlemagne and his pious missionaries, had been formerly exerted in the same cause, and among the same people,^d but with so little success, that any faint notions which

^a The promotion and labours of Ansgar.

^a The writers to whom we are indebted for accounts of this pious and illustrious prelate, the founder of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are mentioned by Jo. Albert Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ vi*, tom. i. p. 292; as also in his *Lux Evangelii orbi terrarum exoriens*, p. 425. Add to these the benedictine monks, in their *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 277. *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. i. p. 391. Eriici Pontoppidani *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 18. Jo. Mollerus, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 8. These writers give us also circumstantial accounts of Ebbo, Withmar, Rembert, and others, who were either the fellow labourers or successors of Ansgar.

^b We have translated thus the term *Mysi*, which is an error in the original. Dr. Mosheim, like many others, has confounded the Mysians with the inhabitants of Mæsia, by giving the latter, who were Europeans, the title of the former who dwell in Asia.

^c Jo. George Stredowsky, *Sacra Moravia Historia*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 91, compared with Pet. Kohlii *Introduct. in Historiam et rem Litt. Sclavorum*, p. 124

^d Stredowsky, *loc. cit.* lib. i. cap. ix. p. 65.

they had received of the christian doctrine were entirely effaced. The instructions of the Grecian doctors had a much better, and also a more permanent effect; but as they recommended to their new disciples the forms of worship, and the various rites and ceremonies used among the Greeks,^c this was the occasion of much religious animosity and contention in after times, when the lordly pontiffs exerted all their vehemence, and employed every means, though with imperfect success, of reducing these nations under the discipline and jurisdiction of the Latin church.

iv. Under the reign of Basilius, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of Dalmatia, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing at the same time the christian religion. This proposal was received with admiration and joy, and it was also answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people, which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth; accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the christian church.^e The warlike nation of the Russians were converted under the same emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only the christian ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch Ignatius had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their church.^f Such were the beginnings of Christianity among the bold and warlike Russians, who were inhabitants of the Ukraine,

Of the Slavonians and Russians.

^c Lenfant, *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, livr. i. ch. i. p. 2.

^f We are indebted for this account of the conversion of the Slavonians to the treatise *De administrando imperio*, composed by the learned emperor Constantine Porphyrogen which is published by Bandurius in *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. Constantine gives the same account of this event in the life of his grandfather Basilius the Macedonian, § 54, published in the *Corpus Byzantinum*, tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

^g Constantinus Porph. *Vita Basilii Macedonis*, § 96, p. 157. *Corp. Byzant.* See also the *Narratio de Rothenorum Conversione*, published both in Greek and Latin by Bandurius, in his *Imperium Orientale, notis ad Porphyrogenicam de administrando imperio*, p. 62, tom. ii.

and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and setting sail from Kiovia for Constantinople, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire.^b

v. It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have now been relating, The nature of these conversions. that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and executed in a more pious and rational manner than those of the preceding ages. The ministers who were now sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations, employed not, like many of their predecessors, the terror of penal laws to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches upon the ruins of idolatry, were they principally attentive to promote the grandeur and extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs; their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavoured to promote the gospel of truth and peace by methods of a rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. It must however be confessed, that the doctrine they taught was far from being conformable to that pure and excellent rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour and his holy apostles; their religious system was, on the contrary, corrupted with a variety of superstitious rites, and a multitude of absurd inventions. It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labours of their christian guides; and it appears also that these pious missionaries were contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion among their new proselytes. It would be however unjust to accuse them on this account

^b The learned Lequien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1257, gives a very inaccurate account of those Russians who were converted to Christianity, under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, and in this he does no more than adopt the errors of many who wrote before him upon the same subject. Nor is he consistent with himself; for in one place he affirms, that the people here spoken of were the Russians that lived in the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; while in another he maintains, that by these Russians we are to understand the Gazarians. The only reason he alleges to support this latter opinion is, that among the christian doctors sent to instruct the Russians, mention is made of Cyril, who converted the Gazari to Christianity. This reason shows that the learned writer had a most imperfect knowledge both of these Russians and the Gazari. He is also guilty of other mistakes upon the same subject. There is a much better explanation of this matter given by the very learned Theoph. Sigisfred. Bayer, *Dissert. de Russorum prima expeditione Constantinopolitana*, which is published in the sixth volume of the *Commentaria Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitana*.

of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry, since, in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things which they could not approve, and which in other circumstances they would have been careful to correct.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE Saracens had now extended their usurpations with an amazing success. Masters of Asia, a few provinces excepted, they pushed their conquests to the extremities of India, and obliged the greatest part of Africa to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprises in the west without effect, since Spain and Sardinia submitted to their arms, and fell under their dominion. But their conquests did not end here; for in the year 827, by the treason of Euphemius, they made themselves masters of the rich and fertile island of Sicily; and toward the conclusion of this century the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of Calabria, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the very walls of Rome, while Crete, Corsica, and other adjacent islands, were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which also beheld the christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of the gospel, and to the tranquillity of the church. In the east, more especially, a prodigious number of christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this base and criminal compliance, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution; but such were gradually reduced to a miserable condition, and were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, and deprived of their worldly advantages. but what was still more de-

The progress
of the Saracens
toward univer-
sal empire.

plorable, they fell by degrees into such incredible ignorance and stupidity, that, in process of time, there were scarcely any remains of Christianity to be found among them, beside the mere name, and a few external rites and ceremonies. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in Spain, were of a much milder disposition, and seemed to have put off the greatest part of their native ferocity; so that the christians, generally speaking, lived peaceably under their dominion, and were permitted to observe the laws, and to enjoy the privileges of their holy profession. It must however be confessed, that this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens was not without some few exceptions of cruelty.ⁱ

11. The European christians had the most cruel sufferings to undergo from another quarter, even from the
The Normans. insatiable fury of a swarm of barbarians that issued out from the northern provinces. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic sea, were a people accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty kings and chiefs, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already, during the reign of Charlemagne, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were restrained by the opposition they met with from the vigilance and activity of that warlike prince. In this century however, they became more bold and enterprising, made frequent irruptions into Germany, Britain, Friesland, and the Gauls, and carried along with them, wherever they went, fire and sword, desolation and horror. The impetuous fury of these savage barbarians not only spread desolation through the Spanish provinces,^k but even penetrated into the very heart of Italy; for in the year 857, they sacked and pillaged the city of Luca in the most cruel manner, and about three years after Pisa, and

ⁱ See, for example, the account that is given of Eulogius, who suffered Martyrdom at Cordoua, in the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xl. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 68; as also of Roderick and Salomon, two Spanish Martyrs of this century. *Ibid. ad d. xlii. Martii*, p. 238.

^k Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire Gener. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among the northern nations a very honourable and noble profession; and hence the sons of kings, and the young nobility, were trained up to this species of robbery, and made it their principal business to perfect themselves in it. Nor will this appear very surprising to such as consider the religion of these nations, and the barbarism of the times. See Jo. Lud. Holberg. *Historia Danorum et Norregorum Navalis*, in *Scriptis Societatis Scientiar. Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349, in which there are a multitude of curious and interesting relations concerning the ancient piracies, drawn from the Danish and Norwegian annals.

several other cities of Italy, met with the same fate.¹ The ancient histories of the Franks abound with the most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

III. The first views of these savage invaders extended no further than plunder; but charmed at length with the beauty and fertility of the provinces which ^{Form new settlements.} they were so cruelly depopulating, they began to form settlements in them; nor were the European princes in a condition to oppose their usurpations. On the contrary, Charles the Bald was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to this powerful banditti;^m and a few years after, under the reign of Charles the Gross, emperor and king of France, the famous Norman chief Godofred entered with an army into Friesland, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he was master of the whole province.ⁿ Such however of the Normans as settled among the christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and gradually departed from their primitive brutality. Their marriages with the christians contributed, no doubt, to civilize them; and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors with more facility, and to embrace the gospel with more readiness, than they would have otherwise done. Thus the proud conqueror of Friesland solemnly embraced the christian religion after that he had received in marriage, from Charles the Gross, Gisela, the daughter of Lothaire the younger.

¹ See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, published by Muratori.

^m *Annales incerti Auctoris*, in *Pithoei Scriptor. Francic.* p. 46.

ⁿ *Reginonis Prumiensis Annal.* lib. ii. f. 60, in *Pistorii Scriptor. German.*

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. **THE** Grecian empire in this century was in circumstances every way proper to extinguish all taste for letters and philosophy, and all zeal for the cultivation of the sciences. The state of letters among the Greeks. The liberality however of the emperors, some of whom were men of learning and taste, and the wise precautions taken by the patriarchs of Constantinople, among whom Photius deserves the first rank in point of erudition, contributed to attach a certain number of learned men to that imperial city, and thus prevented the total decline of letters. Accordingly we find in Constantinople, at this time, several persons who excelled in eloquence and poetry; some who displayed, in their writings against the Latins, a considerable knowledge in the art of reasoning, and a high degree of dexterity in the management of controversy; and others who composed the history of their own times with accuracy and with elegance. The controversy with the Latins, when it grew more keen and animated, contributed in a particular manner to excite the literary emulation of the disputants, rendered them studious to acquire new ideas, and a rich and copious elocution, adorned with the graces of elegance and wit; and thus roused and invigorated talents that were ready to perish in indolence and sloth.

II. We learn from the accounts of Zonaras, that the study of philosophy lay for a long time neglected Of philosophy. in this age; but it was revived, with a zeal for the sciences in general, under the emperor Theophilus, and his son Michael III. This revival of letters was principally

owing° to the encouragement and protection which the learned received from Bardas, who had been declared Cesar, himself a weak and illiterate man, but a warm friend of the celebrated Photius, the great patron of science, by whose counsel he was, undoubtedly, directed in this matter. At the head of all the learned men to whom Bardas committed the culture of the sciences, he placed Leo, surnamed the Wise, a man of the most profound and uncommon erudition, and who afterward was consecrated bishop of Thessalonica. Photius explained the *Categories* of Aristotle, while Michael Psellus gave a brief exposition of the other works of that great philosopher.

III. The Arabians, who, instead of cultivating the arts and sciences, had thought of nothing hitherto but of extending their territories, were now excited to literary pursuits by Almamunis, otherwise called Abu Gaafar Abdallah, whose zeal for the advancement of letters was great, and whose munificence toward men of learning and genius was truly royal. Under the auspicious protection of this celebrated caliph of Babylon and Egypt, the Arabians made a rapid and astonishing progress in various kinds of learning. This excellent prince began to reign about the time of the death of Charlemagne, and died in the year 833. He erected the famous schools of Bagdad, Cufa, and Basora, and established seminaries of learning in several other cities; he drew to his court men of eminent parts by his extraordinary liberality, set up noble libraries in various places, had translations made of the best Grecian productions into the Arabic language at a vast expense, and employed every method of promoting the cause of learning, that became a great and generous prince, whose zeal for the sciences was attended with knowledge.^p It was under the reign of this immortal caliph that the Arabians began to take pleasure in the Grecian learning, and to propagate it by degrees, not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain and Italy; and from this period they give us a long catalogue of celebrated philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians, who were ornaments to their nation, through several suc-

The state
of learning a-
mong the A-
rabians.

° *Annalium*, tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126, tom. x. *Corporis Byzantin.*

^p Abulpharains, *Historia Dynastiæ*. p. 246. Georg Elmacin. *Histor. Saracen.* lib. ii. p. 139. Barthol. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* Article Mamun, p. 545.

ceeding ages.^q And in this certainly they do not boast without reason; though we are not to consider, as literally true, all the wonderful and pompous things which the more modern writers of the Saracen history tell us of these illustrious philosophers.

After this period, the European christians profited much by the Arabian learning, and were highly indebted to the Saracens for the improvement they made in the various sciences. For the mathematics, astronomy, physic, and philosophy, that were taught in Europe from the tenth century, were, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian schools that were established in Spain and Italy, or from the writings of the Arabian sages. And from hence the Saracens may, in one respect, be justly considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

iv. In that part of Europe that was subject to the dominion of the Franks, Charlemagne laboured with incredible zeal and ardour for the advancement of useful learning, and animated his subjects to the culture of the sciences in all their various branches.

The state of letters under Charlemagne, and his successors.

So that, had his successors been disposed to follow his example, and capable of acting upon the noble plan he formed, the empire, in a little time, would have been entirely delivered from barbarism and ignorance. It is true, this great prince left in his family a certain spirit of emulation, which animated his immediate successors to imitate, in some measure, his zeal for the prosperity of the republic of letters. Lewis the Meek both formed and executed several designs that were extremely conducive to the progress of the arts and sciences;^r and his zeal in this respect was surpassed by the ardour with which his son Charles the Bald exerted himself in the propagation of letters, and in exciting the emulation of the learned by the most alluring marks of his protection and favour. This great patron of the sciences drew the *literati* to his court from all parts, took a particular delight in their conversation, multiplied and embellished the seminaries of learning, and protected, in a more especial manner, the Aulic school, of which mention has been formerly made, and which was first erected in the seventh century, in order to the education of the

^q See the treatise of Leo Africanus, *De Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus*, published a second time by Fabricius, in the twelfth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 259.

^r See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 683.

royal family, and the first nobility.^s His brother Lothaire endeavoured to revive in Italy the drooping sciences, and to restore them from that state of languor and decay into which the corruption and indolence of the clergy had permitted them to fall. For this purpose he erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy, A. D. 823,^t but with little success, since it appears that that country was entirely destitute of men of learning and genius during the ninth century.^u

In England learning had a better fate under the auspicious protection of king Alfred, who has acquired an immortal name, not only by the admirable progress he made in all kinds of elegant and useful knowledge,^w but also by the care he took to multiply men of letters and genius in his dominions, and to restore to the sciences, sacred and profane, the credit and lustre they so eminently deserve.^x

v. But the infelicity of the times rendered the effects of all this zeal and all these projects for the advancement of learning much less considerable than Impediments to the progress of learning. might have otherwise been expected. The protectors and patrons of the learned were themselves learned; their authority was respectable, and their munificence was boundless; and yet the progress of science toward perfection was but slow, because the interruptions arising from the troubled state of Europe were frequent. The discords that arose between Lewis the Meek and his sons, which were succeeded by a rupture between the latter, retarded considerably the progress of letters in the empire;

^s Herman Conringii *Antiquit. Academicæ*, p. 320. Cæs. Eg. du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 178. Launoïus, *De Scholis Caroli M* cap. xi. xii. p. 47. *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 483.

^t See the edict for that purpose among the *Capitularia in Muratori Rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part ii. p. 151.

^u See Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 829.

^w See Ant. Wood. *Hist. et Antiquit. Academ. Oxoniens.* lib. i. p. 13. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris* tom. i. p. 211. *General Dictionary*, at the article Alfred. This prince, among other pious and learned labours, translated the *Pastoral* of Gregory I. Boetius, *De Consolatione*, and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

^x This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and of consequence may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and Grimbold, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad; Asserius, Wenefrid, Plegmund, Dunwuf, Wulfsig, and the abbot of St. Neot's, deserve the first rank among the English *literati*, who adorned the age of Alfred. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. book iii. p. 165, 166, &c. Rapin Thoyras, in the reign of this illustrious monarch.

and the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted Europe during the whole course of this century, were so fatal to the culture of the arts and sciences, that in most of the European provinces, and even in France, there remained but a small number who truly deserved the title of learned men.^y The wretched and incoherent fragments of erudition that yet remained among the clergy were confined to the monasteries, and to the episcopal schools; but the zeal of the monkish and priestly orders for the improvement of the mind, and the culture of the sciences, diminished in proportion as their revenues increased, so that their indolence and ignorance grew with their possessions.

vi. It must however be confessed, that several examples of learned men, whose zeal for the sciences was kindled by the encouragement and munificence of Charlemagne, shone forth with a distinguished lustre through the darkness of this barbarous age. Among these, the first rank is due to Rabanus Maurus, whose fame was great through all Germany and France, and to whom the youth resorted, in prodigious numbers, from all parts to receive his instructions in the liberal arts and sciences. The writers of history, whose works have deservedly preserved their names from oblivion, are Eginhard, Freculph, Thegan, Hamo, Anastasius, Ado, and others of less note. Florus, Walafridus, Strabo, Bertharius, and Rabanus excelled in poetry. Smaragdus and Bertharius were eminent for their skill in grammar and languages, as was also the celebrated Rabanus already mentioned, who acquired a very high degree of reputation by a learned and subtle treatise concerning the causes and the rise of languages. The Greek and Hebrew erudition was cultivated with considerable success by William, Servatus Lupus, Scotus, and others. Eginhard, Agobard, Hincmar, and Servatus Lupus, were much celebrated for the eloquence which appeared both in their discourses and in their writings.^z

Examples of
learned men
who flourish-
ed in this cen-
tury.

^y Servati Lupi *Epistolæ* xxxiv. p. 69. Conringii *Antiq. Acad.* p. 322. *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251

^z Such as are desirous of a more circumstantial account of these writers, and of their various productions, may consult the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251 to 271. Or the more ample account given of them by the celebrated Le Beuf, in his *Etat des Sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu' au Roi Robert*, which is published in his *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d' Eclaircissement à l' Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 1. Paris 1738, en 8vo.

VII. The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools during this century, scarcely deserved such honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were however to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts, and extensive knowledge, who were perfectly well entitled to the appellation of philosophers. The chief of these was Johannes Scotus Erigena,^a a native of Ireland, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, who delighted so much in his conversation as to honour him with a place at his table. Scotus was endowed with an excellent and truly superior genius, and was considerably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his disciples the philosophy of Aristotle, for which he was singularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language: but as his genius was too bold and aspiring to confine itself to the authority and decisions of the stagirite, he pushed his philosophical researches yet farther, dared to think for himself, and ventured to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason. We have yet extant of his composition, *Five books concerning the division of nature*, an intricate and subtile production, in which the causes and principles of all things are investigated with a considerable degree of sagacity, and in which also the precepts of Christianity are allegorically explained, yet in such a manner as to show that their ultimate end is the union of the soul with the Supreme Being. He was the first who blended the *scholastic theology* with the *mystic*, and formed them into one system. It has also been imagined, that he was far from rejecting the opinions of those who consider the union of *God* and *nature*, as similar to the union that subsists between the soul and the body, a notion much the same with that of many ancient philosophers, who looked upon the Deity as the soul of the world. But it may perhaps be alleged, and not without reason, that what Scotus said upon this subject amounted to no more than what the *realists*,^b as they are called, maintain-

^a Erigena signifies properly a native of Ireland, as Erin or Irin, was the ancient name of that kingdom.

^b The *realists*, who followed the doctrine of Aristotle with respect to *universal ideas*, were so called in opposition to the nominalists, who embraced the hypothesis of Zeno and the stoics upon that perplexed and intricate subject. Aristotle held, against Plato, that previous to, and independent on matter, there were no universal *ideas* or *essences*; and that the ideas or exemplars, which the latter supposed to have existed in the divine mind, and to have been the *models* of all created things, had been eternally

ed afterward, though it must be allowed that he has expressed himself in a very perplexed and obscure manner.^c This celebrated philosopher, formed no particular sect, at least as far as is come to our knowledge; and this will be considered, by those who are acquainted with the spirit of the times he lived in, as a proof that his immense learning was accompanied with meekness and modesty.

About this time there lived a certain person named Macarius, a native of Ireland, who propagated in France that enormous error, which was afterward adopted and professed by Averroes, that one individual intelligence, one soul, performed the spiritual and rational functions in all the human race. This error was confuted by Ratram, a famous monk of Corbey.^d Before these writers, flourished Dungal, a native of Ireland also, who left his country, and retired into a French monastery, where he lived during the reigns of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, and taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation.^e Heric, a monk of Auxerre, made likewise an eminent figure among the learned of this age; he was a man of uncommon sagacity, was endowed with a great and aspiring genius, and is said in many things to have anticipated the famous Descartes in the manner of investigating truth.^f

impressed upon matter, and were coeval with, and inherent in their object. Zeno and his followers, departing both from the platonic and aristotelian systems, maintained that these pretended *universals*, had neither *form* nor *essence*, and were no more than mere terms and *nominal* representations of their particular objects. The doctrine of Aristotle prevailed until the eleventh century, when Roscelinus embraced the stoical system, and founded the sect of the *nominalists*, whose sentiments were propagated with great success by the famous Abelard. These two sects differed considerably among themselves, and explained, or rather obscured, their respective tenets in a variety of ways.

^c The work here alluded to was published at Oxford, by Mr. Thomas Gale, in 1681. The learned Heuman has made several extracts from it, and given also an ample and learned account of Scotus, in his *Acts of the Philosophers*, written in German, tom. iii. p. 558.

^d Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sac. part. ii. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedicti* § 156, p. 53.

^e *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 493.

^f Le Beuf. *Mémoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 481. [*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iv. M. Junii ad d. xxiv. p. 829, et ad d. xxxi. Jul. p. 249. For this philosopher has obtained a place among the saintly order.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. The impiety and licentiousness of the greatest part of the clergy arose at this time to an enormous height, and stand upon record, in the unanimous complaints of the most candid and impartial writers of this century.^g In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies, and treason, reigned uncontrolled, and all things were carried by violence and force. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the patriarchs of Constantinople. The favour of the court was become the only step to that high and important office; and as the patriarch's continuance in that eminent post depended upon such an uncertain and precarious foundation, nothing was more usual than to see a prelate pulled down from his episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the western provinces, the bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendour of courts, and the pleasures of a luxurious indolence, which corrupted their taste, extinguished their zeal, and rendered them incapable of performing the solemn duties of their function;^h while the inferior clergy were sunk in licentiousness, minded nothing but sensual gratifications, and infected with the most heinous vices, the flock, whom it was the very business of their ministry to preserve, or to deliver from the contagion of iniquity. Beside, the ignorance of the sacred order was in many places so deplorable, that few of them could either read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any degree of method or perspicuity. Hence it happened that when letters were to be penned, or any matter of consequence was to be committed to writing, they had commonly recourse to some person who was supposed to be endowed with superior abilities, as appears in the case of Servatus Lupus.ⁱ

The corruption of the clergy.

^g See Agobardus, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotii*, § 13, p. 137, tom. i. opp. ed. Baluzii.

^h The reader will be convinced of this by consulting Agobard, *passim*, and by looking over the laws enacted in the Latin councils for restraining the disorders of the clergy. See also Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73, 281, and Steph. Baluz. in *Adnot.* p. 378.

ⁱ See the works of Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xcvi. xcix. p. 126, 142, 148, as also his *Life*. See also Rodolphi *Bithyniensis Capitula ad Clerum suum*, in Baluzii *Miscellaneis* tom. vi. p. 139, 148.

11. Many circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment this corruption and licentiousness, so shameful in an order of men, who were set apart to exhibit examples of piety to the rest of the world. Among these we may reckon, as the chief sources of the evil under consideration, the calamities of the times, even the bloody and perpetual wars that were carried on between Lewis the Meek and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Many other causes also contributed to dishonour the church, by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views toward the church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy.^k The patrons of churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls.^l But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render at least the higher clergy wicked and depraved, and to take off their minds from the duties of their station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services to their sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from the royal bounty. The bishops and heads of monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops,^m and thus to act in a sphere that was utterly inconsistent with the nature and duties of their sacred character. Beside all this, it often happened

^k Hincmarus, *Oper. Posterior. contra Godeschalcum*, cap. xxxvi. tom. i. opp. p. 318. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxxix. p. 120.

^l Agobardus, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotum*, cap. xi. p. 341, tom. i. opp.

^m Steph. Baluzii *Appendix Actor ad Servatum*, p. 508. Muratori *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 597. Fresne, *ad Joinvillæ Hist. Ludovici 8.* p. 75, 76.

that rapacious princes, in order to satisfy the craving wants of their soldiers and domestics, boldly invaded the possessions of the church, which they distributed among their armies; in consequence of which the priests and monks, in order to avoid perishing through hunger, abandoned themselves to the practice of violence, fraud, and all sorts of crimes, which they looked upon as the only means they had left of procuring themselves a subsistence.ⁿ

III. The Roman pontiffs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accompanied by the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary in order to their consecration.^o There is indeed yet extant an edict, supposed to have been published in the year 817, by Lewis the Meek, in which he abolishes this imperial right, and grants to the Romans, not only the power of electing their pontiff, but also the privilege of installing and consecrating him when elected, without waiting for the consent of the emperor.^p But this grant will deceive none who inquire into this matter with any degree of attention and diligence, since several learned men have proved it spurious by the most irresistible arguments.¹ It must however be confessed, that after the time of Charles the Bald, a new scene of things arose; and the important change above-mentioned was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of Rome, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of Eugenius III. who was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 884, the election of the bishops of Rome was carried on without the least regard to law, order, and decency, and was generally

The Roman
pontiffs.

ⁿ Agobardus, *De dispens. rerum Ecclesiast.* § 4. p. 270, tom. i. opp. Flodoardus, *Histor. Eccles. Rhemensis*, lib. iii. cap. ix. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xlv. p. 87, 427, &c. Muratori, tom. vi. *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, p. 302. Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. et novæ circa beneficia*, pars ii. lib. iii. cap. xi. These corrupt measures prevailed also among the Greeks and Lombards, as may be seen in the *Oriens Christianus* of Lequien, tom. i. p. 142.

^o See De Bunau, *Histor. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 28, 32.

^p Harduini *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236. Le Cointe, *Annales Eccles. Francor.* tom. vii. ad A. 817, § 6. Baluzii *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

^q Muratori *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiast.* p. 54, and *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 29, 30, in which that learned man conjectures that this edict was forged in the eleventh century. Bunau, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. The partisans however of the papal authority, such as Fontanini and others, plead strenuously, though ineffectually, for the authenticity of the edict in question.

attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of Otho the Great, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

iv. Among the prelates that were raised to the pontificate in this century, there were very few who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a christian bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmittted their names with infamy to our times; and they all, in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which is said to have interrupted the much vaunted succession of regular bishops in the see of Rome, from the first foundation of that church to the present times. Between the pontificate of Leo IV. who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III. a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the church with the title and dignity of pontiff about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of pope Joan. During the five succeeding centuries, this event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor, before the reformation undertaken by Luther, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church.* But in the last century, the elevation, and indeed the existence of this female pontiff became the subject of a keen and learned controversy; and several men of distinguished abilities, both among the Roman catholics and protestants, employed all the force of their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story, by invalidating, on the one hand the weight of the testimonies on which it is founded, and by showing, on the other, that it was inconsistent with the most accurate chro-

* The arguments of those who maintain the truth of this extraordinary event, are collected in one striking point of view, with great learning and industry, by. Fred. Spanheim, in his *Exercitatio de Papa Femina*, tom. ii. opp. p. 577. This dissertation was translated into French by the celebrated l'Enfant, who digested it into a better method, and enriched it with several additions.

nological computations.^s Between the contending parties, some of the wisest and most learned writers have judiciously steered a middle course; they grant that many fictitious and fabulous circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is entirely destitute of all foundation, or that the controversy is yet ended, in a satisfactory manner, in favour of those who dispute the truth. And indeed upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, that some unusual event must have happened at Rome, from which this story derived its origin; because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event was absolutely destitute of all foundation. But what it was that gave rise to this story is yet to be discovered, and is likely to remain so.^t

v. The enormous vices, that must have covered so many pontiffs with infamy in the judgment of the wise, formed not the least obstacle to their ambition in these miserable times, nor hindered them from extending their influence, and augmenting their authority both in church and state. It does not indeed appear from any authentic records, that their possessions augmented in proportion to the progress of their authority, nor that any new grants of land were added to what they had already obtained from the liberality of the

Their zealous attachment to the kings of France, by whom they are favoured.

^s The arguments of those who reject the story of pope Joan as a fable, have been collected by David Blondel, and after him with still more art and erudition by Bayle, in the third volume of his *Dictionary*, at the article Papesse. Add to this Jo. Georg. Eccard, *Histor. Francie Oriental.* tom. ii. lib. xxx. § 119, p. 436, which author has adopted and appropriated the sentiments of the great Leibnitz, upon the matter in question. See also Lequien's *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 777, and Heuman's *Sylloge Dissert. Sacr.* tom. i. part ii. p. 352. The very learned Jo. Christoph. Wagenselius has given a just and accurate view of the arguments on both sides, which may be seen in the *Amœnitates Litterariæ* of Schelhornius, part i. p. 146, and the same has been done by Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 408. A list of the other writers who have employed their labours upon this intricate question, may be seen in Casp. Sagittarius's *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. cap. xxv. p. 676, and in the *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. part v. p. 935.

^t Such is the opinion of Paul Sarpi, in his *Lettere Italiane*, lett. lxxxii. p. 452; of L'Enfant *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. x. p. 27; of Theod. Hasæus, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. part v. p. 935; and of the celebrated Pfaff, *Instit. Histor. Eccles.* p. 402; to whom we might add Wernsdorff, Boecler, Holberg, and many others, were this enumeration necessary. Without assuming the character of a judge in this intricate controversy, concerning which so many false decisions have been pronounced, I shall only take the liberty to observe, that the matter in debate is as yet dubious, and has not, on either side, been represented in such a light as to bring conviction.

kings of France. The donations, which Lewis the Meek is reported to have made to them, are mere inventions, equally destitute of truth and probability;^u and nothing is more groundless than the accounts of those writers who affirm that Charles the Bald divested himself, in the year 875, of his right to the city of Rome, and its territory, in favour of the pontiff, whom he, at the same time, enriched with a variety of noble and costly presents, in return for the good services of John VIII. by whose succours he was raised to the empire. But be that as it may, it is certain, that the authority and affluence of the bishops of Rome increased greatly from the time of Lewis the Meek, but more especially from the accession of Charles the Bald to the imperial throne, as all the historical records of that period abundantly testify.^v

vi. After the death of Lewis II. a fierce and dreadful war broke out between the posterity of Charlemagne, among which there were several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and the Roman pontiff, John VIII. with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by Charles the Bald, whose entreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises, in consequence of which he was proclaimed, A. D. 876. by the pontiff John VIII. and by the Italian princes assembled at Pavia, king of Italy and emperor of the Romans. Carloman and Charles the Gross, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Italy, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontiff, and the Italian princes. After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in Italy, France, and Germany, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped by various chiefs, and in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the

They gain by the troubles that arise in the empire.

^u See above, § 3.

^v Bunau *Hist. Imperii Rom. German.* tom. ii. p. 482. Jo. George Eccard, *Hist. Franciæ Orient.* tom. ii. lib. xxxi. p. 606.

greedy pontiffs, generally raised to the government of Italy, and to the imperial throne.^x

VII. Thus the power and influence of the pontiffs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through the favour and protection of the princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority in religious matters was not less rapid, nor less considerable, and it arose from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman catholic writers, not only acknowledge, but are even at pains to demonstrate, that from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the counsels and instigation of the court of Rome, and new laws substituted in their place. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs, elated with their overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and had indeed the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of Rome was constituted and appointed by Jesus Christ, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal; and that therefore the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontiff, nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent.^y This opinion, which was inculcated by the pontiffs with the utmost zeal and ardour, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the government of the church in the earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

The emperors divested of their ecclesiastical authority, and the power of the councils and of the bishops diminished.

^x This matter is amply illustrated by Sigonius in his famous book *De Regno Italiae*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

^y See the excellent work of an anonymous and unknown author, who signs himself D. B. and whose book is entitled *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique public Francois*, published first at London, in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1737, and lately republished in a larger and more splendid edition. The author of this performance shows, in a judicious and concise manner, the various steps by which the papal authority arose to such a monstrous height. His account of the ninth century may be seen in the first volume of his work. at the 160th page.

VIII. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The bishops of Rome were aware of this; and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partisans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear that, in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed.² Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *decretal epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatised. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville,³ to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious and learned prelate. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century,⁴ but they were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs.⁵ The decisions of a certain Roman

Forged memorials and acts procured by the pontiffs to establish their supremacy.

Decretals.

² There is just reason to imagine, that these *decretals*, and various other acts, such as the grants of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiffs; since it is utterly incredible, that these pontiffs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against kings, princes, councils and bishops, who were unwilling to receive their yoke. Acts of a private nature would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of papal ambition. Such forgeries were in this century esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the church; and therefore it is not surprising that the good pontiffs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St. Peter, and to aggrandize his successors in the apostolic see.

³ It is certain that the forger of the *decretals* was extremely desirous of persuading the world, that they were collected by Isidore, the celebrated bishop of Seville, who lived in the sixth century. See Fabricii *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 561. It was a custom among the bishops to add, from a principle of humility, the epithet *peccator*, i. e. *sinner*, to their titles; and accordingly the forger of the *decretals* has added the word *peccator* after the name of Isidore; but this some ignorant transcribers have absurdly changed into the word *mercator*; and hence it happens that one Isidorus Mercator passes for the fraudulent collector or forger of the *decretals*.

⁴ See Don Calnet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i, p. 528. B. Just. Hen. Bohmer. *Præf. ad novum Edit. Juris Canon.* tom. i. p. x. xix. *Not.*

⁵ Beside the authors of the *Centurie Magdeburgenses* and other writers, the learned

council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Sylvester, were likewise alleged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the *decretals*, and were equally authentic. Be that as it may, the decrees of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the Roman pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction^{77d}

ix. There were not however wanting among the Latin bishops men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the church. The French bishops distinguished themselves in a particular and glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious *decretals*, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontiffs, and particularly of Nicholas I. conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostors, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the church. The history of the following ages shows, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the church, labouring by the aid of their impious frauds to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked, with attention and impartiality, into the

The success of
these frauds.

Blondel has demonstrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner, the spuriousness of the *decretals*, in his *Pseudo Isidorus et Turrianus rapulantes*; and in our time the cheat is acknowledged even by the Roman catholics, at least by such of them as are possessed of any tolerable degree of judgment and impartiality. See Buddeus's *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762; as also Petr. Constantius's *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 130; and a *Dissertation of Fleury*, prefixed to the sixteenth volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

^d See Jo. Launois. *De cura Ecclesie erga pauperes et miseros*, cap. i. Observat. i. p. 576, tom. ii. part. ii. opp.

history of the times of which we now write, and is ingeniously confessed by men of learning and probity, that are well affected to the Romish church and its sovereign pontiff.^e

x. The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the sacred gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monkish orders and discipline with the greatest admiration ; but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that this holy passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age it went beyond all bounds ; kings, dukes, and counts, forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but the result of a narrow and superstitious spirit. They abandoned their thrones, their honours, and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries with a view of devoting themselves entirely to God. Several examples of this fanatical extravagance were exhibited in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, both in this and the preceding century. And if the allurements of worldly pleasures and honours had too much power over the minds of many, to permit their separating themselves from human society, during their lives, such endeavoured to makè amends for this in their last hours ; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit, and actually put it on before their departure, that they might be regarded as of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the fervent prayers and other spiritual succours of their ghostly brethren.

But nothing affords such a striking and remarkable proof of the excessive and fanatical veneration that was paid to the monastic order, as the treatment they received from several kings and emperors, who drew numbers of monks and abbots from their cloisters, and placed them in stations entirely foreign to their vows and their character, even amidst the

^{The monastic life in high repute.}

^{Monks and abbots employed in civil affairs and called to the courts of princes.}

^e See the above-mentioned author's treatise, entitled *Regia Potestas in Causis Matrimonial.* tom. i. part ii. opp. p. 764 ; as also Petr. Constantius, *Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontiff.* tom i. p. 127.

splendour of a court, and at the head of affairs. The transition indeed was violent, from the obscurity of a convent and the study of a liturgy, to sit at the helm of an empire, and manage the political interests of nations. But such was the case ; and pious princes alleged as a reason for this singular choice, that the government of a state could never be better placed than in the hands of such holy men, who had subdued all irregular appetites and passions, and were so divested of the lust of pleasure and ambition, as to be incapable of any unworthy designs, any low, sordid, or selfish views. Hence we find in the history of these times frequent examples of monks and abbots performing the functions of ambassadors, envoys, and ministers of state, and displaying their talents with various success in these high and eminent stations.

x1. The morals however of the monks, were far from being so pure as to justify the reason alleged above for their promotion. Their patrons and protectors, who loaded them with honours and preferment, were sensible of the irregular and licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost efforts to correct their vices, and to reform their manners. Lewis the Meek distinguished his zeal in the execution of this virtuous and noble design ; and to render it more effectual, he employed the pious labours of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, in reforming the monasteries first in Aquitaine, and afterward throughout the whole kingdom of France, and in restoring, by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline, which was absolutely neglected and fallen into decay. This worthy ecclesiastic presided, in the year 817, in the council of Aix la Chapelle, where several wise measures were taken for removing the disorders that reigned in the cloisters ; and in consequence of the unlimited authority he had received from the emperor, he subjected all the monks, without exception, to the rule of the famous Benedict, abbot of Mount Cassin, annulled that variety of rites and customs that had obtained in the different monasteries, prescribed to them all one uniform method of living, and thus united as it were into one general body or society, the various orders which had hitherto been connected by no common bond.^f This admirable discipline, which acquired to Be-

A reformation
of the monas-
tic order at-
tempted.

^f Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iv. part i. Præf. p. xxvii. and Præf. ad Sæc. v. p. xxv.* Ejusdem, *Annales Ordin. S. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 430. Calmêt.

nedict of Aniane the highest reputation, and made him be revered as the second father of the western monks, flourished during a certain time, but afterward declined through various causes, until the conclusion of this century, when, under the calamities that oppressed both the church and the empire, it almost entirely disappeared.

XII. The same emperor, who had appeared with such zeal both in protecting and reforming the monks, ^{Canons and canonesses.} gave also distinguished marks of his favour to the order of *canons*, which Chrodegangus had introduced in several places during the last century. He distributed them through all the provinces of the empire, and instituted also an order of *canonesses*, which was the first female convent known in the christian world.^g For each of these orders the zealous emperor had a rule drawn up, A. D. 817, in the council of Aix la Chapelle, which he substituted in the place of that which had been appointed by Chrodegangus, and this new rule was observed in most of the monasteries and convents of the canons and canonesses in the west until the twelfth century, notwithstanding that it was disapproved of by the court of Rome.^h The author of the rule that was appointed for the *canons* was undoubtedly Amalarius, a presbyter of Metz; but it is not so certain whether that which was drawn up for the *canonesses* was composed by the same hand.ⁱ Be that as it may, the *canonical* order grew into high repute; and from this time a great number of convents were erected for them through all the western provinces. and were richly endowed by the liberality of pious and opulent christians. But this insti-

Hist. de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 596. For a particular account of Benedict of Aniane, and his illustrious virtues, see the *Acta Sanctor* tom. ii. Febr. p. 606; and the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 447.

^g See Mabillon, *Annal. Ordin. S. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 428.

^h This rule was condemned in a council held at Rome, A. D. 1059, under the pontiff Nicholas II. The pretexts used by the pontiff and the assembled prelates, to justify their disapprobation of this rule, were, that it permitted the canons to enjoy the possessions they had before their vows, and allowed to each of them too large a portion of bread and wine; but the true reason was, that this order had been instituted by an emperor without either the consent or knowledge of the Roman pontiff. For an account of the rule and discipline of these *canons*, see Fleury's *Eccles. Hist.* tom. x. p. 163, 164, &c. Brussels edition in 12mo.

ⁱ Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplin. Eccles. Vel. et Novæ*, part i. lib. iii. cap. xlii. xliii. *Muratorii Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 186, 540. No accounts of the *canons* are less worthy of credit, than those that are given by writers, who have been themselves members of that order, such as Raymond Chappone's *Histoire des Chanoines*, published at Paris in 8vo in the year 1699; for these writers, from fond prejudices in favour of their institution, and an ambitious desire of enhancing its merit and rendering it respectable, derive the origin of *canonical order* from Christ and his apostles, or trace it up at least to the first ages of the christian church.

tution degenerated in a short time, like all others, from its primitive purity, and ceased to answer the laudable intention and design of its worthy founders.^k

XIII. Of the theological writers that flourished among the Greeks, the following are the most remarkable.

The principal
Greek writers.

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of most profound and universal erudition, whose *Bibliotheca*,¹ *Epistles*, and other writings, are yet valuable on many accounts.

Nicephorus, also a patriarch of the abovementioned city, who, among other productions, published a warm defence of the worship of images against the enemies of that idolatrous service.^m

Theodorus Studites, who acquired a name chiefly by his warm opposition to the *iconoclasts*, and by the zeal with which he wrote in favour of image worship.ⁿ

The same cause has principally contributed to transmit to after ages the names of Theodorus Graptus, Methodius, who obtained the title of *confessor* for his adherence to image worship in the very face of persecution, Theodorus Abucara,^o Petrus Siculus, Nicetas David, and others, who would probably have been long since buried in oblivion, had not the various contests between the Greek and Latin churches, and the divisions of the former among themselves upon the question concerning images, excited the vehemence of these inconsiderable writers, and furnished them with an occasion of making some noise in the world.

Moses Barcephala, a Syrian bishop, surpassed by far all whom we have now been mentioning, and deserved the shining reputation which he has obtained in the republic of letters, as what we have yet extant of his works discover several marks of true genius, and an uncommon acquaintance with the art of writing.^p

^k Calmet, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 591. *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 336.

¹ See Camusat, *Histoire des Journaux*, tom. i. p. 87

^m *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii ad d. xlii. p. 293 Oudinus, *Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2.

ⁿ Theodore Studites was one of the most voluminous writers of this century, and would certainly have been known as a man of genius and learning in after ages, though the controversy concerning images had never existed. There are of his writings yet extant two hundred and sixty five letters, several treatises against the *iconoclasts*, one hundred and twenty four epigrams in *Iambics*, and a large manuscript, which contains a course of catechetical instruction concerning the duties of the monastic life.

^o See Bayle's *Dictionary*, vol. i. at the article Abucara.

^p Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 127.

xiv. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Metz, is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age; the force of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the multitude of productions that flowed from his pen, entitle him to this distinguished rank, and render improper all comparison between him and his contemporaries. He may be called the great light of Germany and France, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction. His writings were every where in the hands of the learned,^a and were held in such veneration, that, during four centuries, the most eminent of the Latin divines appealed to them as authority in religious matters, and adopted almost universally the sentiments they contained. After this illustrious prelate, the writers that are most worthy of mention are,

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, a man of wisdom and prudence, and far from being destitute of literary merit; but whose reputation has deservedly suffered by his justifying and even fomenting the rebellion of Lothaire and Pepin against Lewis the Meek, their father and their sovereign.^r

Hilduin, abbot of St Dennis, who acquired no small reputation by a work, entitled, *Areopagitica*.^s

Eginhard, abbot of Selingestat, the celebrated author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, remarkable for the beauty of his diction, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, and a variety of other literary accomplishments.^t

Claudius, bishop of Turin, whose *Exposition* of several books of scripture,^u as also his *Chronology*, gained him an eminent and lasting reputation.^w

^a See, for a particular account of the life and writings of Rabanus Maurus, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 151; as also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Febr. p. 500.

^r See Colonia. *Hist. Litt. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 93. *General Dictionary*, at the article Agobard. *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 567. [Agobard opposed with great zeal both the worship and the use of images in his famous book *De picturis et imaginibus*, a work which has greatly embarrassed the doctors of the Romish church.]

^s *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 607.

^t *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 550. See also the *Life of Charlemagne*, of which the best of fourteen editions is that published by Schminkius, at Utrecht, in the year 1711.

^u This prelate, who was famous for his knowledge of the holy scriptures, composed three books of commentaries upon *Genesis*, four upon *Exodus*, and several upon *Leviticus*. He wrote also a commentary upon the *Gospel of St Matthew*, in which there are many excellent things, and an exposition of all the *Epistles of St Paul*. His commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* is printed, but all the rest are in manuscript.]

^w See Simon. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 284,

Freculf, bishop of Lysieux, whose *Chronicle*, which is no more than a heavy compilation, is yet extant.

Servatus Lupus, of whose composition we have several epistles and treatises; and who, though a copious and subtile writer, is yet defective in point of elegance and erudition.^x

Drepanius Florus, who left behind him several *poems*, *An exposition of certain books of scripture*, and other performances less worthy of attention.^y

Christian Druthmar, the author of *A commentary upon St. Matthew's Gospel*.^z

Godeschalc, a monk of Orbais, who rendered his name immortal by the controversy which he set on foot concerning *Predestination and Free Grace*.

Paschasius Radbert,^a a name famous in the contests concerning *The real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist*; and who, to pass in silence his other writings, composed a book upon this very subject, which furnished abundant matter of dispute throughout this century.

Bertramm, or Ratramn, a monk of Corby, who deserves the first rank among the writers that refuted the doctrine of Radbert; and whose book concerning *the sacrament of the Lord's supper*, which was composed by the order of Charles the Bald, gave also occasion to many contests among learned divines.^b

Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, the laborious author of several treatises upon various subjects, and who is more to be esteemed for his industry and diligence, than for his genius and learning.^c

Walafridus Strabo, who acquired no mean reputation by his *Poems*, his *Lives of the Saints*, and his *Explications* of many of the more difficult passages of scripture.^d

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man of an imperious

^x *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 255.

^y Colouia, *Histoire Littér. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 135. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 213.

^z *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 84.

^a For an account of Radbert, see the *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 267.

^b We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of Bertramm, and his book, in the following chapter.

^c It is proper to observe, that a great part of the writings that are attributed to Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, were composed by Remi, or Remigius, of Auxerre. See Cassimir Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 330. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 111, tom. vi. p. 106. Le Beuf, *Recueil de Dissert. sur l'Histoire de la France*, tom. i. p. 278.

^d See the *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 544.

and turbulent spirit; but who deserves, notwithstanding, a distinguished place among the Latin writers of this century, since his works discover an aspiring genius, and an ardent zeal in the pursuit of truth, and tend, moreover, in a singular manner, to throw light both upon the civil and ecclesiastical history of the age in which he lived.^e

Johannes Scotus Erigena, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, an eminent philosopher, and a learned divine, whose erudition was accompanied with uncommon marks of sagacity and genius, and whose various performances, as well as his translations from the Greek, gained him a shining and lasting reputation.^f

It is sufficient barely to name Remigius Bertharius, Ado, Aimoin Heric, Regino, abbot of Prum, and others, of whom the most common writers of ecclesiastical history give ample accounts.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE zeal of Charlemagne for the interests of Christianity, and his liberality to the learned, encouraged many to apply themselves diligently to the study of the scriptures, and to the pursuit of religious truth; and as long as this eminent set of divines remained, the western provinces were happily preserved from many errors, and from a variety of superstitious practices. Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents, whose productions show that the lustre of true erudition and theology was not, as yet, totally eclipsed. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared, one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance, encouraged by their departure, resumed their ancient seats, and brought in their train a prodigious multitude of devout follies, odious superstitions, and abominable errors. Nor did any encourage and propagate with more zeal and ardour these superstitious innovations, than the sacerdotal orders, the spiritual guides of a deluded people. And if we

The miserable
state of Chris-
tianity.

^e Ibid. tom. v. p. 416.

^f See Herm. Contringius. *Antiq. Académica*, p. 309. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 416

inquire how it came to pass, that the clergy were so zealous in such an inglorious cause, we shall find that this zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition; since much was to be gained both in point of authority and opulence from the progress of superstition. Christianity among the Greeks and orientals was almost in the same declining and deplorable state; though there arose, from time to time, in the eastern provinces, men of superior abilities, who endeavoured to support the cause of true religion, and to raise it from the pressures under which it laboured.

II. The causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the christian church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are at all acquainted with the history of these times. The oriental doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest contentions and quarrels with the western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit and genius of Christianity, and corrupted and biassed by the prejudices and passions that are generally excited and nourished by ill managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true and essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and in maintaining among themselves the worship of images which began to be warmly opposed, they advanced many things in the course of these disputes that were highly erroneous, and as one error follows another, their number increased from day to day. The savage and unnatural lives of the monks and hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, the gloomy scenes of their extravagant devotion, contributed much, among other causes, to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the west, the atrocious exploits of usurping princes, the drooping and neglected condition of all the various branches of learning, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman pontiffs, who were incessantly gaping after new accessions of authority and dominion, the frauds and tricks of the monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and then we shall see the true causes that founded the empire of superstition and error upon the ruin of virtue, piety, and reason.

The causes to which it was owing.

iii. The ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the christian church in this century, were great beyond measure ; and were there no other examples of their enormity upon record, than the single instance of that stupid veneration that was paid to the bones and carcasses of departed saints ; this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion, nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the saintly order. Hence it was that every church, and indeed every private christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those, who were already employed about the souls of others ; for they judged, in this respect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of the saints, and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people ; and this was done with the utmost zeal. The priests and monks set their invention at work, and peopled at discretion the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men ; and they invented both names and histories of saints^g that never existed, that they might not be at a loss to furnish the credulous and wretched multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason than their having lived like madmen.

iv. The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary at length to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new saints to the list of their

^g The saints canonized.

[^g See Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, *passim*. in which we find the names of St. Baccho, St. Viar, St. Amphibolus, Euodio, &c.]

celestial mediators. They accordingly declared, by a solemn decree, that no departed christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order before the bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour.^b This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed in some measure to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saintmakers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontiff. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontiff, whom they considered as the supreme and universal bishop; and this will not appear surprising to any who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of Rome made toward unbounded dominion in this barbarous and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. It is true we have no example of any person solemnly sainted by the bishop of Rome alone, before the tenth century,ⁱ when Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, received this dignity in a formal manner from John XV. It is however certain, that before that time, the Roman pontiffs were consulted in matters of that nature, and their judgment respected in the choice of those that were to be honoured with saintship;^k and it was by such steps as these, that the church of Rome engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which at length was distinguished by the title of *canonization*.

v. This preposterous multiplication of saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were in-

Lives of the
saints.

^b Mabillon, *Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, Sec. v. Præf.* p. 44. Launoy, *De Lazari, Magdalene, et Marthe in Provinciam appulsu*, cap. i. § 12, p. 342, tom. ii. part i. opp. Franc. Pagi *Brevarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 259, tom. iii. p. 30

ⁱ See Dan Papebrochius, *De solennium canonizationum initiis et progress. in Propylæo Actor. SS. mens. Maii*, p. 171; and the other authors who have written upon this subject, of which there is an ample list in the *Bibliographia Antiquar.* of Fabricius, cap. vii. § 25, p. 270.

^k See the candid and impartial account that is given of this matter, by the late pope, Benedict XIV. in his laborious work, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 50, tom. i. opp. edit. Roman. It were to be wished, that historians of the church of Rome would learn to imitate the prudence, moderation, and equity of that illustrious pontiff.

vented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted, to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of holy persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were undoubtedly forged after the time of Charlemagne by the monastic writers, who had both the inclination and leisure to edify the church by these pious frauds. The same impostors who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of Christ; these fictions however did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public.¹ Various were the motives that engaged different persons to propagate or countenance these impostures. Some were excited to this by the seductions of a false devotion, which reigned in this perverse and ignorant age, and made them imagine that departed saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories and in celebrating their exploits. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being revered by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number, and to maintain the credit of the legends, or saintly registers. For the churches that were dedicated to the saints were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents, in order to obtain succour under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honour to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had ren-

¹ See Servatus Lupus's *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276, and the candid and learned observations upon this subject that are to be found in various places of the works of the celebrated Lannoy; e. g. in his *Disputatio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110, in his *Dissertationes de primis Christianæ relig. in Gallia initis*, Diss. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 168, 169, 181. *De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam appulsu*, p. 340. *De Duobus Dionysiis*, p. 527, 529, 530, tom. ii. part i. opp. See also Martene *Thesaurus Anecdotor*, tom. i. p. 161. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 273.

dered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legions with fictitious prodigies ; nay, they were not only tempted to this imposture, but were even obliged to make use of it in order to swell the fame of the irrelative patrons.^m

vi. But even all this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition, nourished by the strata-
A passionate fondness for their relics prevails.
 gems of a corrupt and designing priesthood, and fomented by the zeal of the more ignorant and stupid sons of the church. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession and succours ; it was not enough to clothe them with an imaginary power of healing diseases, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers ; their bones, their clothes, the apparel and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrefied carcasses were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of satan. The consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships ; while others made use of this delusion to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions. As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer, instituted by the priest in order to obtain a divine answer, and an infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires ; the holy carcass was always found, and that always in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion and inspiration of God

^m Of all the lives of the saints written in this century, none are more liable to suspicion than those drawn up by the Britons and Normans. See Mabillon *Prof. ad Sac. i. Benedictin. sub init.*

himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places which Christ and his disciples had honoured with their presence, that with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks, found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic hunters, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw bones, several of which were pagan, and some not human, and other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon, and others, which they show at this day with so much ostentation. But there were many, who, unable to procure for themselves these spiritual treasures by voyages and prayers, had recourse to violence and theft; for all sorts of means, and all sorts of attempts in a cause of this nature were considered, when successful, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being.^a

vii. The study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. Photius, who composed a book of *questions*,^o relating to various passages of scripture, *An exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul*, and other productions of the same nature,^p was one of the few that employed their talents in

The exposition of the scriptures neglected among the Greeks

^a See Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 6, who gives examples of the truth of this assertion.

^o This work, which is entitled *Amphilochia*, from its having been addressed to Amphilochius, bishop of Cyzicum, consists of three hundred and eight questions, and answers to them; a sixth part of which, at least, are to be found in the *Epistles of Photius*, published at London in 1651, by bishop Montague. The most of these questions relate to different texts of the *Old and New Testaments*; but these are interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind. This work is still extant in MSS. in the Vatican, Barberinian, and Bavarian libraries.

^p Such as a *catena*, a chain of commentaries on the book of Psalms, compiled from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, &c. and a commentary upon the *Prophets*, both of which are yet extant in MSS. the former in the *Bibliotheca Segueriana*, or *Cristiniana*, and the latter in the Vatican library.

the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decisions of authority; notwithstanding all which, he cannot be recommended as a model to other commentators. The other Greek writers who attempted to explain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *catenæ*, or chains of commentaries so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have come down to our times, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The greatest part of the theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this compiling method, to the great detriment of sacred criticism.

VIII. The Latin commentators were vastly superior in number to those among the Greeks, which was owing to the zeal and munificence of Charlemagne, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the doctors of the preceding age to the study of the scriptures. Of these expositors there are two at least who are worthy of esteem, Christian Druthmar, whose *Commentary on St. Matthew*, is come down to our times,^q and the abbot Bertharius, whose *Two Books concerning fundamentals*, are also said to be yet extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes, which we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history; the class of those who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients, and that of a fantastic set of expositors, who were always hunting after mysteries in the plainest expressions, and labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of scripture, all which they did, for the most part, in a very clumsy and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was Rabanus Maurus, who acknowledges that he borrowed

Defects of the
Latin commen-
tators.

^q See R. Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouv. Testament*, chap. xxv. p. 348; as also his *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 293, who, in his xxvith. and xxviith. chapters, gives an account of most of the writers mentioned here.

from the ancient doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of St. Paul; Walafrid Strabo, who borrowed his explications chiefly from Rabanus; Claudius of Turin, who trod in the footsteps of Augustin and Origen; Hincmar, whose *Exposition of the four Books of Kings* compiled from the fathers, are yet extant; Remigius of Auxerre, who derived from the same source his illustrations on the *Psalms* and other books of sacred writ; Sedulius, who explained in the same manner the Epistles of St. Paul; Florus, Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, and others, whom, for the sake of brevity, we pass in silence.

ix. Rabanus Maurus, whom we introduced above at the head of the compilers of the fathers, deserves also an eminent place among the allegorical commentators, on account of his diffuse and tedious work, entitled *Scripture Allegories*. To this class also belong Smaragdus, Haymo, Scotus, Pashasius Radbert, and many others, whom it is not necessary to mention. The fundamental and general principle, in which all the writers of this class agree, is, that beside the literal signification of each passage in scripture, there are hidden and deep senses which escape the vulgar eye; but they are not agreed about the number of these mysterious significations. Some attribute to every phrase three senses; others four; others again five; nay, their number is carried to seven by Angelome, a monk of Lysieux, an acute, though fantastic writer, and who is far from deserving the meanest rank among the expositors of this century.^r

x. The teachers of theology were still more contemptible than the commentators, and the Greeks, as well as the Latins, were extremely negligent both in unfolding the nature, and proving the truth of the doctrines of Christianity. Their method of inculcating divine truth was dry and unsatisfactory, and more adapted to fill the memory with sentences, than to enlighten the understanding, or to improve the judgment. The Greeks, for the most part, followed implicitly Damascenus, while the Latins submitted their hoodwinked intellects to the au-

The state of
didactic theol-
ogy.

^r See the preface to his *Commentary on the Book of Kings* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of Angelome upon the book of *Genesis*, was published by Bernard Pezius in his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. part i. but indeed the loss would not have been great had it never seen the light.

thority of Augustine. Authority became the test of truth, and supplied in arrogance what it wanted in argument. That magisterial decisions were employed in the place of reason, appears manifestly from the *Collectaneum de tribus quæstionibus* of Servatus Lupus; and also from a *Treatise* of Remigius, *concerning the necessity of holding fast the truths of the gospel, and of maintaining inviolable the sacred authority of the holy and orthodox fathers*. If any deigned to appeal to the authority of the scriptures in defence of their systems, they either explained them in an allegorical manner, or understood them in the sense that had been given to them by the decrees of councils, or in the writings of the fathers; from which senses they thought it both unlawful and impious to depart. The Irish doctors alone, and particularly Johannes Scotus, had the³ courage to spurn the ignominious fetters of authority, and to explain the sublime doctrines of Christianity in a manner conformable to the dictates of reason, and the principles of true philosophy. But this noble attempt drew upon them the malignant fury of a superstitious age, and exposed them to the hatred of the Latin theologians, who would not permit either reason or philosophy to meddle themselves in religious matters.⁵

xi. The important science of morals suffered, like all others, in the hands of ignorant and unskilful writers. The labours of some were wholly employed in collecting from the fathers an indigested heap of maxims and sentences concerning religious and moral duties; and such, among others, was the work of Alvarus, entitled *Scintillæ Patrum*. Others wrote in a more systematic manner concerning virtue and vice, such as Halitgarius, Rabanus Maurus, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans; but the representations they gave of the one and the other were very different from those which we find in the gospel of Christ. Others again fell into that most absurd and delusive method of instructing the ignorant in the will of God by a fantastic combination of figures and allegories; and several of the Greeks began to turn their studies toward the resolving *cases of conscience*,⁶ in order to remove the

Of Christian morality.

⁵ For an account of the persecution and hatred that Johannes Scotus suffered in the cause of reason and liberty, see Du Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. i. p. 182; as also Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sec. v. p. 392.

⁶ See Nicephori Chortophylar. *Epistolæ Duæ*, in the *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 413.

difficulties that arose in scrupulous and timorous minds. We pass in silence the writers of homilies and books of penance, of which there were a considerable number in this century.

XII. The doctrine of the mystics, whose origin is falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, and whose precepts were designed to elevate the soul above all sensible and terrestrial objects, and to unite it to the Deity in an ineffable manner, had been now for a long time in vogue among the Greeks, and more especially among the monastic orders. And to augment the credit, of this fanatical sect, and multiply its followers, Michael Syncellus and Methodius composed the most pompous and eloquent panegyrics upon the memory of Dionysius, in which his virtues were celebrated with the utmost exaggeration. The Latins were not as yet bewitched with the specious appearance and the illusory charms of the mystic devotion, which was equally adapted to affect persons of a lively fancy, and those of a more gloomy turn of mind. They lived in a happy ignorance of this contagious doctrine, when the Grecian emperor Michael Balbus sent to Lewis the Meek, in the year 824, a copy of the pretended works^u of Dionysius the Areopagite, which fatal present kindled immediately the holy flame of mysticism in the western provinces, and filled the Latins with the most enthusiastic admiration of this new religion. The translation of these spurious works into Latin by the express order of the emperor,^w who could not be easy while his subjects were deprived of such an inestimable treasure, contributed much to

^u Usserii *Sylloge Epp. Hibernicar.* p. 54, 55. ¶ The spuriousness of these works is now universally granted by the most learned and impartial of the Roman catholic writers, as they contain accounts of many events that happened several ages after the time of Dionysius, and were not at all mentioned until after the fifth century. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. liv. tom. xi. p. 520, edit. Bruxelles.

^w That these books were translated by the order of Lewis, appears manifestly from the *epistle* to that emperor, which Hilduin prefixed to his *Arcopagitica*, and in which, p. 66, edit. Colon. 1563, we find the following passage: "De notitia librorum, quos (Dionysius) patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, *cujus dispensatione interpretatos*, sermone nostra eos petentibus reserant, satisfaciit." From this passage it is evident that they are mistaken, who affirm that the Latin translation of the works of Dionysius was not made before the time of Charles the Bald. And they err also, who, with Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. lib. xxix. § 59, p. 488, and the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 425, inform us, that Michael Balbus sent these works already translated into Latin to the emperor Lewis. It is amazing how men of learning could fall into this latter error, after reading the following passage in the *epistle* above quoted; "Authenticos namque eosdem (Dionysii) libros Græcæ lingua conscriptos, cum æconomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione; functi sunt; promovere magno suscepimus."

the progress of mysticism. By the order of the same emperor, Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, composed an account of the life, actions, and writings of Dionysius, under the title of *Areopagitica*, in which work, among other impudent fictions, usual in those times of superstition and imposture, he maintained, in order to exalt the honour of his nation, that Dionysius the Areopagite, and Dionysius the bishop of Paris, were one and the same person.^x This fable, which was invented with unparalleled assurance, was received with the most perfect and unthinking credulity, and made such a deep and permanent impression upon the minds of the French, that the repeated demonstrations of its falsehood have not as yet been sufficient to ruin its credit entirely. As the first translation of the works of Dionysius, that had been done by the order of Lewis the Meek, was probably in a barbarous and obscure style, a new and more elegant one was given by the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena, at the request of Charles the Bald, the publication of which increased considerably the partisans of the mystic theology among the French, Italians, and Germans. Scotus himself was so enchanted with this new doctrine, that he incorporated it into his philosophical system, and upon all occasions either accommodated his philosophy to it, or explained it according to the principles of his philosophy.

xiii. The defence of Christianity against the Jews and pagans was greatly neglected in this century, in which the intestine disputes and dissensions that divided the church, gave sufficient employment to such as had an inclination to controversy, or a talent of managing it with dexterity and knowledge. Agobard, however, as also Amulo and Rabanus Maurus, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors, while the emperor Leo, Theodorus Abucara, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system. But it may be observed, in general, of those who wrote against the Saracens, that they reported many things, both concerning Mahomet and his religion, which were far from being true: and if, as there is too much reason to imagine, they did this designedly, and

The state of polemic, or controversial theology.

^x Launoy, *Diss. de Discrimine Dionysii Areopag. et Parisiensis*, cap. iv. p. 33, tom. ii. p. i opp. as also the writings of this great man concerning the *Two Dionysii*.

knowing the falsehood, or at least the uncertainty of what they alleged against these infidels, we must look upon their writings rather as intended to deter the christians from apostacy, than to give a rational refutation of the Saracen doctrine.

xiv. The contests of the christians among themselves were carried on with greater eagerness and animosity than the disputes in which they were engaged with the common enemies of their faith; and these contests were daily productive of new calamities and disorders which dishonoured their profession, and cast a heavy though undeserved reproach upon the cause of true religion. After the banishment of Irene, the controversy concerning images broke out anew among the Greeks, and was carried on by the contending parties, during the half of this century, with various and uncertain success. The emperor Nicephorus, though he did not abrogate the decrees of the council of Nice, nor order the images to be taken out of the churches, yet deprived the patrons of image worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous service. But his successor, Michael Curopalates, surnamed Rhangebe, acted in a very different manner. Feeble and timorous, and dreading the rage of the priests and monks that maintained the cause of images, he favoured that cause during his short reign, and persecuted its adversaries with the greatest bitterness and cruelty. The scene changed again, upon the accession of Leo the Armenian to the empire, who abolished the decrees of the nicene council relating to the use and worship of images, in a council assembled at Constantinople, A. D. 814; without however enacting any penal laws against their idolatrous worshippers. This moderation, far from satisfying the patriarch Nicephorus, and the other partisans of image worship, only served to encourage their obstinacy, and to increase their insolence; upon which the emperor removed the haughty prelate from his office, and chastised the fury of several of his adherents with a deserved punishment. His successor Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the *Stammerer*, was obliged to observe the same conduct, and to depart from the clemency and indulgence

¶ Fleury and some other writers place the meeting of this council in the year 851.

which, in the beginning of his reign, he had discovered toward the worshippers of images, whose idolatry however he was far from approving; the monks more especially provoked his indignation by their fanatical rage, and forced him to treat them with particular severity. But the zeal of his son and successor Theophilus, in discouraging this new idolatry, was still more vehement; for he opposed the worshippers of images with great violence, and went so far as to put to death some of the more obstinate ringleaders of that impetuous faction.

xv. Upon the death of Theophilus, which happened in the year 842, the regency was entrusted with the empress Theodora during her son's minority. This superstitious princess, fatigued with the importunate solicitations of the monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not a little influenced also by their insolent threats, assembled, in the year abovementioned, a council at Constantinople, in which the decrees of the second nicene council were reinstated in their lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in their corrupt propensity to image worship by a law which encouraged that wretched idolatry.² So that after a controversy, which had been carried on during the space of an hundred and ten years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dictates of reason and Christianity; the whole east, the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of this superstitious phrenzy, or restrain them in the performance of this childish worship. The council that was held at Constantinople under Photius, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the *eighth general council*, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the nicene decrees. The superstitious Greeks, who were blinded by the monks in the most ignominious manner, esteemed this council as a most signal blessing derived to them from the immediate interposition of heaven, and accordingly instituted in commemoration thereof an anniversary festival, which was called the *Feast of Orthodoxy*.³

² See Fred. Spanheim, *Historia Imaginum*, sect. viii. p. 845, tom. ii. opp. *L'Enfant, Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siège de Rome*, tom. iii. lett. xiv. p. 147, lett. xviii. p. 509.

³ See Gretser *Obserrat. in Codicum de officiis Aulæ et Eccles. Constantinopolitanæ*,

XVI. The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs in their favour, was ^{Among the} obtained with much more difficulty among the ^{Latins.} Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable, and indeed unalienable privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontiff, or to look upon any thing as infallible and true, which had authority for its only foundation. The most of the European christians, as we have seen already, steered a middle course between the idolaters and the iconoclasts, between those who were zealous for the worship of images on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious exploits and the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least marks of religious homage or adoration. Michael Balbus, when he sent, in the year 824, a solemn embassy to Lewis the Meek, to renew and confirm the treaties of friendship and peace that had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and Charlemagne, charged his ministers in a particular manner to bring over the king of the Franks^b to the party of the iconoclasts, that they might gradually suppress, by their united influence, the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the church. Lewis upon this occasion assembled a council at Paris, A. D. 824,^c in order to examine the proposal of the Grecian emperor, in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of Frankfort, which allowed the *use* of images in

lib. iii. cap. viii. as also the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by Reisk, lib. i. c. xxviii. p. 92.

¶ ^b So Michael and his son Theophilus style Lewis in their letter to him, refusing him the title of emperor, to which however he had an undoubted right in consequence of the treaties which they now desired to renew.

¶ ^c Fleury, Le Sneur, and other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently show, that the decisions of the Roman pontiff were by no means looked upon at this time either as obligatory or infallible. For when the letter of pope Adrian, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of Nice, relating to image worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *œcumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not on this account declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See Fleury, liv. xlvii

the churches, but severely prohibited the treating them with the smallest marks of religious *worship*. But in process of time the European christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of the Roman pontiff, whose influence and authority grew more formidable from day to day; so that toward the conclusion of this century, the Gallican clergy began to pay a certain kind of religious homage to the saintly images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations.^d

xvii. Notwithstanding this apostacy, the iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was Claudius, bishop of Turin, by birth a Spaniard, and also a disciple of Felix, bishop of Urgel. This zealous prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of Lewis the Meek, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the *use* as well as the *worship* of images, but also broached several other opinions that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which in this century were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon Claudius a multitude of adversaries, the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters; Theodemir Dungallus, Jonas of Orleans, and Wallafridus Strabo^e united to overwhelm him with their voluminous answers. But the learned and venerable pre-

Several iconoclasts among the Latins.

^d Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488. 1d. *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedicti. Sæc. iv. part. i.* p. 7, 8. Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. *ad h. a.* 824.

^e In order to do justice to the adversaries of Claudius here mentioned, it is necessary to observe, that they only maintained the innocence and usefulness of images, without pretending to represent them as objects of religious worship.

late maintained his ground,^f and supported his cause with such dexterity and force that it remained triumphant, and gained new credit. And hence it happened, that the city of Turin and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of Claudius, much less infected with superstition than the other parts of Europe.

xviii. The controversy that had been carried on in the preceding century concerning the *procession*, if we may be allowed that term, of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, and also concerning the word *filioque*, foisted by the Latins into the creed of Constantinople, broke out now with redoubled vehemence, and from a private dispute became a flaming contest between the Greek and Latin churches. The monks of Jerusalem distinguished themselves in this controversy, and complained particularly of the interpolation of the word *filioque*, i. e. *and from the Son*, in the above-mentioned symbol; nor did they stop here, but despatched to Charlemagne, in the year 809, a certain ecclesiastic of their order, whose name was John, to obtain satisfaction in this matter.^g The affair was debated in due form, both in a council assembled this same year at Aix la Chapelle, and at Rome, in presence of the sovereign pontiff, Leo III. to whom the emperor had sent ambassadors for that purpose. Leo adopted the doctrine which represented the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, but he condemned the addition that had been made to the symbol,^h and declared it as his opinion, that the word *filioque* or *from the Son*, as it was a glaring interpolation, ought to be omitted in reading the symbol, and at length struck out of it entirely, not every where at once, but in such a prudent manner as to prevent disturbance. His successors were of the same opinion; the word however being once admitted, not only kept its place in opposition to the Roman pontiffs, but was by degrees added to the symbol in all the Latin churches.ⁱ

^f Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488. *Prof. ad Sac. iv. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedict.* p. 8. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 491, and tom. v. p. 27, 64. Jaq. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 38, ed. in 4to.

^g See Steph. Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 14.

^h This addition of the word *filioque* to the symbol of Nice and Constantinople was made in the fifth and sixth centuries by the churches of Spain, and their example was followed by most of the Gallican churches, where the symbol was read and sung with this addition.

ⁱ See Le Coigne, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad. A. 809. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. v. p. 151.

XIX. To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one *concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist.* The controversy concerning the eucharist set on foot by Pascasius Radbert. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the church, that the body and blood of Christ *were* administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they were consequently *present* at that holy institution; but the sentiments of christians concerning the *nature and manner* of this *presence* were various and contradictory, nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was to be understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter, nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or restrained the extravagance of the other. But in this century, Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterward abbot of Corbey, pretended to explain with precision, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the church on this head, for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a treatise *concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.*^k A second edition of this treatise, revised with care, and considerably augmented, was presented in the year 845 to Charles the Bald, and gave principally occasion to the warm and important controversy that ensued. The doctrine of Pascasius amounted in general to the two following propositions. *First*, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the *outward figure*, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally *present*; and *secondly*, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist was the *same body that was born of the Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead.* This new doctrine, and more especially the second proposition now mentioned, excited, as might well be expected, the astonishment of many. Accordingly it was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Heribald, and others, though they did not all refute it in the same method, nor upon the same principles. Charles the Bald, upon this oc-

^k See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* ii. p. 539. An accurate edition of Radbert's book is published by Martene, in the 1xth. tome of his *Ampliss. Collect. veter. scriptor.* p. 378. The life and actions of this wrongheaded divine are treated of at large by Mabillon, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc.* iv. part ii. p. 126, and by the jesuits, in the *Acta SS. Antwerp. ad. d. xxvi. Aprilis.*

casion, ordered the famous Ratramn and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted.¹ These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the emperor. The treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time, but that of Ratramn is still extant,^m and furnished ample matter of dispute both in the last and present century.ⁿ

xx. It is remarkable that in this controversy each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries. Radbert, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary Bertramm, or Ratramn, seems in some respects liable to the same charge ; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those, who deny that the body and blood of Christ are *really* present in the holy sacrament, and to affirm on the contrary that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are however several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this just and rational notion of the eucharist, or at least as susceptible of different interpretations, and have therefore given rise to various disputes. Johannes Scotus, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, and shed through his writings that logical precision so much wanted, and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest, who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency, and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ. All the other theologists of his time fluctuate and waver in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles concerning the

¹ For an account of Ratramn, or Bertramm, and his famous book which has made so much noise in the world. see Fabricius *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1661.

^m A new English translation of the book of Bertramm, priest and monk of Corbeiy, concerning the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, was published in Dublin in the year 1753 ; to which is prefixed a very learned and judicious Historical Dissertation concerning this famous author and his works, in which both are ably defended against the calumnies and fictions of the Roman catholic writers.

ⁿ There is an account, but a partial one, of this controversy in Mabillon's *Præf. ad. Sæc. iv. part. ii. Benedict.* p. viii. which the curious reader will therefore do well to compare with Basnage's *Histoire de l' Eglise*, tom. i. p. 909.

matter in question. From all this however it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist.

XXI. The disputants in this controversy charged each other reciprocally with the most odious doctrines, which each party drew by way of consequences, from the tenets they opposed, a method of proceeding as unjust as it is common in all kinds of debate. Hence arose that imaginary heresy, that upon the triumphant progress of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eleventh century, was branded with the title of *stercoranism*, and of which the true origin was as follows. They who, embracing the opinion of Pascasius Radbert, believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament were substantially changed after the consecration, and preserved only their external figure, drew a most unjust conclusion from the opinion of their adversaries, who maintained on the contrary that the bread and wine preserved their substance, and that Christ's body and blood were only figuratively, and not really present in the eucharist. They alleged that the doctrine of the latter implied, that the body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was thrown out with the other excrements. But this consequence was quickly retorted upon those that imagined it; for they who denied the metamorphosis of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, charged the same enormous consequence upon their antagonists who believed this transmutation; and the charge was much more applicable certainly to the latter than to the former. The truth of the matter is, that it was neither truly applicable to the one nor to the other, and their mutual reproaches, most wretchedly founded, show rather a spirit of invective, than a zeal for the truth. The charge of *stercoranism* is but a malignant invention; it can never, without the most absurd impudence, be brought against those who deny the transmutation of the bread into the body of Christ; it may indeed be charged upon such as allow of this transmutation, though it be a consequence that none of them, who were not frenetic, did perhaps ever avow.^o

^o For an account of the *stercoranists*, see Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part ii. p. 21. J. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 926, and a Treatise of the learned Dr. Pfaff, published at Tubingue in 1750.

XXII. While this controversy was at its greatest height,

The controversy concerning predestination and grace set on foot by Godeschalvus.

another of a quite different kind, and of much more importance arose, whose unhappy consequences are yet felt in the reformed churches. The subject of this new contest was the doctrine of *predestination* and *divine grace*, and its rise is universally attributed to Godeschalvus, an illustrious Saxon, who had entered involuntarily into the monastic order in the convent of Fulda, from whence he removed to the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, where he prosecuted his theological studies with great assiduity, but also with an insatiable desire of sounding the deepest mysteries, and of being *wise above what is written*. This eminent ecclesiastic, upon his return from Rome in the year 847, took up his lodging for some time with count Eberald, one of the first noblemen at the court of the emperor Lothaire, where he discoursed largely concerning the intricate doctrine of *predestination* in presence of Nothingus, bishop of Verona, and maintained that God, from all eternity, had preordained some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting punishment and misery. Rabanus Maurus, who was by no means his friend, being informed of his propagating this doctrine, opposed him with all his might. To render his opposition more successful, he began by representing Godeschalvus as a corrupter of the true religion, and a forger of monstrous heresies, in some letters addressed to count Eberald, and to the bishop of Verona. And when the accused monk came from Italy into Germany to justify himself against these clamours, and for that purpose appeared at Mentz, of which Rabanus his accuser was archbishop, he was condemned in a council assembled by the latter in that city, A. D. 848, and sent from thence to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in whose diocese he had received the order of priesthood. Hincmar, who was devoted to the interests of Rabanus, assembled a council at Quiercy, A. D. 849, in which Godeschalvus was condemned a second time, and was also treated in a manner equally repugnant to the principles of religion and the dictates of humanity. Because he was firm in maintaining his doctrine, which he affirmed, and indeed with truth, to be the doctrine of St. Augustine, the imperious Hincmar degraded him from the priesthood, and was so barbarous as to order him to be whipped with the utmost severity, until

the force of his pain overpowering his constancy obliged him, according to the commands of his reverend executioners, to burn with his own hands the justification of his opinions which he had presented to the council of Mentz. After these barbarous proceedings, the unfortunate monk was cast into prison in the monastery of Hautvilliers, where he ended his misery and his days in the year 868, or the year following, maintaining with his last breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

XXIII. While Godesehaleus lay in prison, his doctrine gained him followers, his sufferings excited compassion, and both together produced a considerable schism in the Latin church. The history of this contest. Ratramn, monk of Corbey, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Loup, or Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, Florus, deacon of Lyons, Remi, archbishop of the same city, with his whole church, all these eminent and illustrious ecclesiastics, with many others whom it would be tedious to mention, pleaded with the utmost zeal and vehemence, both in their writings and in their discourse, the cause of this unhappy monk, and of his condemned opinions. Some indeed confined themselves principally to the defence of his person and conduct; while others went farther, and employed all their zeal, and all their labour in the vindication of his doctrine. On the opposite side of the question were Hinemar, his unrighteous judge, Amalarius, the celebrated Johannes Scotus, and others, who all maintained that Godesehaleus and his opinions had received the treatment they deserved. As the spirit of controversy ran high between these contending parties, and grew more vehement from day to day, Charles the Bald summoned a new council or synod, which met at Quiercy, A. D. 853, in which, by the credit and influence of Hinemar, the decrees of the former council were confirmed, and of consequence Godesehaleus again condemned. But the decrees of this council were declared null, and decisions of a different kind, by which Godesehaleus and his doctrine were vindicated and defended, were substituted in their place in a council assembled at Valence in Dauphiny, A. D. 855. This council was composed of the clergy of three provinces, Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, with Remi, archbishop of Lyons at their head, and its decrees were confirmed, in the year 859, by the council of Langres, in which the same clergy were assembled, and in 860. by the

council of Tonsi, in which the bishops of fourteen provinces supported the cause of the persecuted monk, whose death diminished considerably the heat of this intricate controversy.^p

xxiv. If we attend to the merits of this cause, we shall find that the debate subsists still in all its force, and that the doctrine of Godeschalcus has in our days both able defenders and powerful adversaries. He undoubtedly maintained a twofold predestination, one to everlasting life and the other to eternal death. He held also, "that God did not desire or will the salvation of all mankind, but that of the elect only; and that Christ did not suffer death for the whole human race, but for that part of it only whom God has predestinated to eternal salvation." These decisions, which carry a severe and rigorous aspect, are softly and favourably interpreted by the followers of Godeschalcus. They deny, for example, that their leader represents God as *predestinating* to a necessary course of iniquity, those whom he has previously *predestinated* to eternal misery; and according to them the doctrine of Godeschalcus amounts to no more than this; "that God has from all eternity doomed to everlasting misery such as he *foresaw* would go on impenitent in a sinful course, and has decreed their ruin in consequence of their sins freely committed and eternally foreseen; that the salutary effects of the mercy of God, and the sufferings of Christ, extend indeed only to the elect, and are made good to them alone; though this mercy and these sufferings, considered in themselves, belong equally to all mankind." But this contradictory jargon did not satisfy the adversaries of the predestinarian monk; they maintained, on the contrary, that under ambiguous terms and perplexed sentences Godeschalens had concealed the most enormous errors, propagating it assiduously as an article of faith, "that God had not only by an original decree predestinated one part of mankind to eternal damnation, but had also pushed them on by an irresistible necessity, by a propelling force, to those crimes and transgressions which were proper to

^p Beside the common writers who speak of this controversy, the curious reader will do well to consult the more learned and impartial accounts he will find of it in Cesar Egasse de Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part ii. p. 47. *Hist. Littéraire de la France.* tom. v. p. 352. Usserii *Historia Godeschalchi*, Hanovæ 1662, in 8vo. et Dublini 1661, in 4to. Gerhard. Joh. Vossii *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. vii. cap. iv. And Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 210.

render that damnation just."^q Without determining any thing upon such an intricate and incomprehensible subject, with respect to which silence is the truest wisdom, we shall only observe, that the private quarrels, and mutual hatred, that prevailed between Rabanus Maurus and Godeschalcus, were the real source of the predestinarian controversy, and of all the calamities in which it involved that unfortunate monk.

xxv. Another, though less important controversy arose about this time, concerning the concluding words of a very ancient hymn, which runs thus; *te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus*, which may be thus translated, *O God, who art three, and at the same time but one, we beseech thee*, &c. Hincmar wisely prohibited the singing these words in the churches that were under his jurisdiction, from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the multitude notions inconsistent with the unity and simplicity of the Supreme Being, and might lead them to imagine that there were three Gods. But the benedictine monks refused to obey this mandate, and Bertram, who was one of the most eminent of that order, wrote a large book to prove the expression *trina Deitas*, or *threefold Deity*, orthodox, from the authority of fathers, which was esteemed the only criterion of truth in these miserable times. Godeschalcus, who now lay in prison, heard of this dispute, entered warmly into it, and in a

Hincmar and
Godeschalcus
dispute con-
cerning the
words *trina*
Deitas.

^q The cause of Godeschalcus has been very learnedly defended by the celebrated Maguin, who published also a valuable edition which is yet extant, of all the treatises that were composed on both sides of this intricate controversy. This interesting collection, which was printed at Paris in the year 1650, in two volumes 4to. bears the following title; *Veterum auctorum qui Nono Sæculo de Predestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, cum Historia gemina Prefatione*. Cardinal Noris maintained also the cause of the predestinarian monk with more brevity but less moderation than Maguin. This brief vindication may be seen in the *Synopsis Historiæ Godeschalchanæ*, which is inserted in the fourth volume of the works of that cardinal, p. 677. All the benedictines, jansenists, and Augustin monks maintain, almost without exception, that Godeschalcus was most unjustly persecuted and oppressed by Rabanus Maurus. The jesuits are of a different opinion: they assert in general, and Lnuis Cellot, one of their order, has in a more particular manner laboured to demonstrate in his *Historia Godeschalci Predestinationis*, published at Paris in 1655. that the monk in question was justly condemned and deservedly punished.

^r The parents of Godeschalcus consecrated him to God, by devoting him from his infancy, as was the custom of the times, to the monastic life in the monastery of Fulda. The young monk however being arrived at a certain age, seemed much disposed to abandon his retreat, to shake off his religious fetters, and return again into society; but he was prevented from the execution of this purpose by Rabanus Maurus, who kept him against his will in his monastic bonds. Hence a violent contest arose between these two ecclesiastics, in which Lewis the Meek was obliged to interpose, and hence the furious disputes concerning predestination and grace. See *Centuriæ Magdeb. Cent. ix. c. 10*. Mahillon, *Annal. Bened. tom. ii. ad A. 829*, p. 523.

laboured dissertation supported the cause of his benedictine brethren, on which account Hincmar accused him of *tritheism*, and drew up a treatise to prove the charge, and to refute that inipious and enormous heresy. This controversy however was but of a short duration, and the exceptionable passage of the hymn in question maintained its credit, notwithstanding all the efforts of Hincmar, and continued, as before, to be sung in the churches.^s

xxvi. A vain curiosity, and not any design of promoting useful knowledge and true piety, was the main source of the greatest part of the controversies that were carried on in this century. And it was more especially this idle curiosity, carried to an indecent and most extravagant length, that gave rise to the controversy concerning the manner in which Christ was born of the Virgin, which began in Germany, and made its way from thence into France. Certain Germans maintained, that Jesus proceeded from his mother's womb in a manner quite different from those general and uniform laws of nature that regulate the birth of the human species; which opinion was no sooner known in France than it was warmly opposed by the famous Ratramn, who wrote a book expressly to prove that Christ entered into the world in the very same way with other mortals, and that his virgin mother bare him, as other women bring forth their offspring. Pascasius Radbert, who was constantly employed either in inventing or patronizing the most extravagant fancies, adopted the opinion of the German doctors, and composed an elaborate treatise to prove that Christ was born without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber where his disciples were assembled after his resurrection, though the door was shut. He also charged those who held the opinion of Ratramn with denying the virginity of Mary. This fruitless dispute was soon lushed, and gave place to controversies of superior moment.^t

xxvii. Of all the controversies that divided christians in this century, the most interesting, though at the same time the most lamentable, was that which

The first controversy be-

^s There is an account of this controversy given by the writers of the life, actions, and doctrines of Godeschalvus.

^t See Lucas Dacherius, his *Spicilegium veterum Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 396. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* pars ii. p. 51.

occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had for a long time prevailed between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, and had sometimes broke out into acts of violence and rage. The ambition and fury of these contending prelates grew still more keen and vehement about the time of Leo the Isaurian, when the bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the power and authority of the emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs many provinces over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion.^u But in this century they arose to an enormous height, and broke forth into a most dreadful flame, in the year 858,^w when the learned Photius was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, by the emperor Michael, in the place of Ignatius, whom that prince drove from his see and sent into exile. For this violent proceeding, though it was justified and applauded by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 861, was far from being attended with a general approbation. Ignatius appealed from this council to the Roman pontiff, Nicholas I. who espoused his interests, and in a council assembled at Rome, A. D. 862, excommunicated Photius as unlawfully elected, and his abettors for having been concerned in such an unrighteous cause. The new patriarch however was so far from being terrified or dejected by this excommunication, that he returned the compliment to the Roman pontiff, and in a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 866, he declared Nicolas unworthy both of the place he held in the church, and also of being admitted to the communion of christians.

tween the
Greeks and
Latins on the
account of
Photius.

xxviii. The Roman pontiff alleged a specious pretext for his appearing in this matter with such violence, and exciting such unhappy commotions in the church. This pretext was the innocence of Ignatius, whom, upon an accusation of treason, whether true or false, the emperor had degraded from his patriarchal dignity. This however was but a mere pretext; ambition and interest were the true, though secret springs, that directed the motions of Nicolas, who would have borne with patience, nay, beheld with in-

^u See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 535, 616. Petr. de Marca, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96

^w In the original there stands 852, but as this is probably an error of the press, the translator has taken the liberty to correct it in the text

difference the unjust sufferings of Ignatius, could he but have recovered from the Greeks the provinces of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily, which the emperor and Photius had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. Before he engaged in the cause of Ignatius, he sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople to demand the restitution of these provinces; but his demand was rejected with contempt. And hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries committed against Ignatius, he indulged without restraint his own private resentment, and thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of disappointed ambition and avarice.

XXIX. While things were in this troubled state, and the flame of controversy was growing more violent from day to day, Basilus the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had paved his way to the imperial throne, calmed at once these tumults, and restored peace to the church, by recalling Ignatius from exile to the high station from which he had been degraded, and by confining Photius in a monastery. This imperial act of authority was solemnly approved and confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff, Adrian II. had great influence, and were treated with the highest marks of distinction.^x The Latins acknowledged this assembly as the eighth *œcumenical* council, and in it the religious contests between them and the Greeks were concluded, or at least hushed and suspended. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman pontiffs, the limits of their ghostly empire, and particularly their jurisdiction in Bulgaria, still subsisted; nor could all the efforts of papal ambition engage either Ignatius or the emperor to give up Bulgaria, or any other province to the see of Rome.

XXX. The contest that had arisen between the Greeks and Latins concerning the elevation of Photius, was of such a nature as to admit of an easy and effectual remedy. But the haughty and ambitious spirit of this learned and ingenious patriarch, fed the flame of discord instead of extinguishing it, and unhappily perpetuated the troubles and divisions of the christian church. In the year 866, he added to the see of Constantinople the province of Bulga-

^x The writers on both sides of this controversy, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. iv. c. xxxviii. p. 372.

ria, with which the pontiff Nicolas had formed the design of augmenting his own spiritual dominions, and was most bitterly provoked at missing his aim. Photius went yet farther, and entered into measures every way unworthy of his character and station; for he not only sent a circular letter to the oriental patriarchs to engage them to espouse his private cause, as the public and momentous cause of the church, but drew up a most violent charge of heresy against the Roman bishops, who had been sent among the new converted Bulgarians, and against the church of Rome in general. The articles of corrupt doctrine, or heresy, which this imperious and exasperated prelate brought against the Romans were as follows. *First*, that they fasted on the *Sabbath*, or seventh day of the week. *Secondly*, that in the first week of Lent, they permitted the use of milk and cheese. *Thirdly*, that they prohibited their priests to marry, and separated from their wives such as were married, when they went into orders.^y *Fourthly*, that they maintained that the bishops alone were authorized to anoint with the holy chrism baptized persons, and that they, of consequence, who had been anointed by presbyters, were obliged to receive that unction a second time from the hand of a bishop. *Lastly*, that they had adulterated the symbol or creed of Constantinople, by adding to it the word *filioque*, i. e. *and from the Son*, and were therefore of opinion that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Father only, but also from the Son.^z Nicolas I. finding the Roman church thus attacked, sent the articles of this accusation to Hincmar and the other Gallican bishops in the year 867, desiring them to assemble their respective suffragans in order to examine and answer the reproach of Photius. Pursuant to this exhortation of the pontiff, Odo, Aeneas, and Ado, bishops of Beauvais, Paris, and Vienne,

^y Photius attributes to this forced and unnatural celibacy of the clergy, that multitude of children whose fathers were unknown. Remarkable to this purpose is the following passage from a book of Alvarus Delagius, bishop of Sylva, in Portugal, *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*; "It were to be wished," says he, "that the clergy had never vowed chastity, especially the clergy of Spain, where the sons of the laity are not much more numerous than the sons of the clergy."

^z See the letter of Photius in the collection published by bishop Montague, N. ii. p. 47. Other writers mention ten heads of accusation brought against Photius, but such do not distinguish between the first and second controversy that arose between the Greeks and Latins, and they add to the articles, with which this patriarch was charged, those that were drawn up in the time of Michael Cerularius. Certain it is, that in the epistle of Photius, which relates only to the first controversy, and is the only criterion by which we ought to judge of it, there are no more heads of accusation than the five which we have enumerated in the text.

as also the celebrated Ratramn, stepped forth gallantly into the field of controversy against the Greeks, answered one by one the accusations of Photius, and employed the whole force of their erudition and zeal in maintaining the cause of the Latin churches.^a

xxx1. Upon the death of Ignatius, which happened in the year 878, the emperor took Photius into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek church in the patriarchal dignity from whence he had fallen. This restoration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by the Roman pontiff, John VIII. upon condition however that Photius would permit the Bulgarians to come under the jurisdiction of the see of Rome. The latter promised to satisfy in this the demands of the pontiff, to which the emperor also seemed to consent;^b and hence it was that John VIII. sent legates to the council which was held at Constantinople, A. D. 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the acts of that assembly, and acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ. The promises however of the emperor and the patriarch were far from being accomplished; for after this council, the former, most probably by the advice, or at least with the consent of the latter, refused to transfer the province of Bulgaria to the Roman pontiff; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon most weighty and important reasons. The pontiff, notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this disappointment, and sent Marinus to Constantinople, in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and that he entirely approved of the sentence of excommunication that had been formerly given against him. The legate, upon delivering this disagreeable message, was cast into prison by the emperor, but was afterward set free; and being raised to the pontificate upon the death of John VIII. recalled the remembrance of this injurious treatment, and levelled a new sentence of condemnation against Photius.

xxxii. This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch; but about six years after this period, he experienced anew the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation, by a fall which concluded his prosperous days. For in the year 886, Leo, surnamed the Philoso-

^a Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Bened.* part ii. p. 55.

^b Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103.

pher, the son and successor of Basilius, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of Photius, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the church, if the Roman pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity, as well as of the duty of christian moderation. But these imperious lords of the church indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops, who had been ordained by Photius. The Greeks, on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute which had been happily declining; religious, as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin church.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day, appears evidently from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the ignorant multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served; for the multiplicity alone of these religious rites could render the explication of them necessary. Johannes Scotus, Angelome, Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxere, and Walafridus Strabo, were the principal authors who distinguished themselves in this species of sacred literature, to whom we may add Amalarius, many of whose explanations were however refuted by Agobard and Florus. Their works are generally entitled *De Officiis Divinis*, for in the style of this age religious ceremonies were called by that name. The labours of these pious and learned men in illustrating the *ritual* were undoubtedly undertaken with

Several writers explain the origin of the rites and ceremonies now used in the church.

good intentions ; but their utility may be well called into question ; and it would be bold to affirm that they were not as prejudicial to the church in some respects. as they might be advantageous to it in others. Their books afforded, indeed, a certain sort of spiritual nourishment to the minds of christians in their attendance upon public worship ; but this nourishment was both coarse and unwholesome. The reasons alleged for the ceremonies in vogue at this time in the church, and the purposes they were supposed to answer, were, for the most part, not only far fetched, childish, and ridiculous, but also bore the strongest marks of forgery and fiction. It is also farther observable, that these illustrations not only encouraged, but augmented prodigiously, and that to the detriment of real piety, the veneration and zeal of the multitude for external rites and ceremonies. For who would dare to refuse their admiration and reverence to institutions, which they were taught to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom, and founded upon the most pious and affecting reasons ?

11. It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies, which were now introduced, for the first time, and of which some were adopted by the whole body of christians, and others only by certain churches. We shall therefore dismiss this matter with the general account which follows, and point out in the notes the sources from whence the curious reader may derive a more particular knowledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age. The carcasses of the saints transported from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the church to augment the number of festivals or holy-days already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each saint might have his peculiar worship. And as the authority and credit of the clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprise the people by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images and such like inventions, in order to keep up and nourish their stupid admiration for the

A general account of these rites.

saintly tribe. Hence the splendour and magnificence that were lavished upon the churches in this century, and the prodigious number of costly pictures and images with which they were adorned; hence the stately altars, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the *masses* that were celebrated in honour of the saints.^c Among other novelties, the feast of *all saints* was added in this century, by Gregory IV. to the Latin calendar;^d and the festival of St. Michael, which had been long kept with the greatest marks of devotion and respect by the orientals and Italians, began now to be observed more zealously and universally among the Latin christians.^e

III. Nor was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, and was observable in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the indispensable demands of the gospel; nay they persuaded, on the contrary, the christians among whom they lived, to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. And this was the true and original source of those barbarous institutions that prevailed among the Latins, during this and the following century, such as the various methods by which it was usual for persons accused to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial of cold water,^f by single combat,^g by the fire ordeal,^h and

Superstition insinuates itself into the transactions of civil life.

^c See Jo. Fechtii *Liber Singularis de Missis in honorem Sanctorum*.

^d See Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica*, p. 537.

^e The holydays, or festivals of the saints were as yet but few in number among the Latins, as appears from a poem of Florus, published by Martene in the fifth volume of his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. p. 595.

^f All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of *cold water*, the person accused had the right foot and the left hand bound together, and was, in this posture, thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this superstitious trial to pope

by the cross.ⁱ It is no longer a question in our days, from whence these methods of deciding dubious cases and accusations derived their origin; all agree that they were mere delusions drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism,^k and not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel,

Eugenius II. and it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Bower has taken no notice of it in his history of that pontiff. Baluzius has inserted in the second volume of his *Capitularia*, the solemn forms of prayer and protestation, that Eugenius had caused to be drawn up as an introduction to this superstitious practice, and Fleury and Spanheim look upon that pontiff as its first inventor. On the other hand, father Le Brun, a priest of the oratory, maintains, in his *Histoire Critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses*, tom. ii. p. 140, &c. edit. d'Amsterdam, that this custom was much more ancient than Eugenius, and his reasons are not unworthy of attention. Be that as it may, this custom was condemned and abrogated at the request, or rather by the authority of Lewis the Meek about the year 829. It was however revived afterward, and was practised in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, as we shall see in the progress of this history. For an account of the trial of cold water. Dr. Mosheim refers us in a note, to Mabillon's *Analecta veteris ari*, tom. i. p. 47, and Roye's *De missis dominicis*, p. 162.

§ The trial by *duel*, or single combat, was introduced toward the conclusion of the fifth century by Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrible perjuries, and opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The *duel* was then added to the oath by Gondebaud; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, Franks, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of Valence in Dauphiny.

The *fire ordeal* was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk barefoot upon heated ploughshares, whose number was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the tenth book of the history of Denmark, by Saxon the Grammarian. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of Simplicius, bishop of Autun, who lived in the fourth century. This prelate, as the story goes, before his promotion to the episcopal order, had married a wife who loved him tenderly, and who, unwilling to quit him after his advancement, continued to sleep in the same chamber with her spouse. The sanctity of Simplicius suffered, at least in the voice of fame, by the constancy of his wife's affection, and it was rumoured about that the holy man, though a bishop, persisted in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons to taste the sweets of matrimony. Upon which the dame, in presence of a great concourse of people, took up a considerable quantity of burning coals, which she held in her clothes, and applied to her breast, without the least hurt to her person or damage to her garments, as the legend says, and her example being followed by her husband with like success, the silly multitude admired the miracle, and proclaimed the innocence of the loving pair. Bricius, or St. Brice, whom Mr. Collier, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 231, represents by mistake as the first christian who endeavoured to clear himself in this way, played a trick of much the same nature in the fifth century.

The trial by the *cross* was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued the longest in this posture gained his cause.

Jn. Lo cenii *Antiquit. Suco Gothica*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. This barbarous method of deciding controversies by *duel* was practised even by the clergy. See Just. Hen. Bo. meri *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. v. p. 88.

^h Petr. Lambecius, *Rerum Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 39. Usserii *Sylloge Epistol. Hibernic.* p. 81. Johnson, *Leges Eccles. Britannic.* Michael de la Roche, *Memoires Littér. de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. viii. p. 391.

ⁱ See Agobardus, *Contra Judicium Dei*, tom. i. opp. et *Contra legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114. Hier. Bignonius, *Ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii. Baluzius, *Ad Agobardum*, p. 104.

^k Strabo tells us in the fifth book of his *Geography*, that while the sacred rites of the goddess Feronia were celebrated in a grove not far from mount Soracte, several per-

but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The pontiffs, however, and the inferior clergy encouraged these odious superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's supper and other rites, in order to give them a christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE sects, that had sprung up in the earlier ages of the church, subsisted still, without almost any change in their situations or circumstances that is worthy of mention. Such of them as were The ancient sects still in being. considerably numerous, fixed their settlements beyond the limits both of the Greek and Latin empires, and thus out of the reach of their enemies. The nestorians more especially, and the monophysites, secure under the protection of the Arabians, were extremely industrious in maintaining their credit, and also discovered a warm and active zeal in the propagation of Christianity among those who were yet unacquainted with that divine religion. Some learned men are of opinion, that it was only in this century that the Abyssinians or Ethiopians embraced the sentiments of the monophysites, in consequence of the exhortations addressed to them by the doctors of that sect who resided in Egypt. But this is undoubtedly a wrong account of the matter; for it is certain that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their spiritual guide from the bishop of Alexandria, commenced monophysites in the seventh century, if not sooner. For in that period the Arabians made themselves masters of Egypt, oppressed the Greeks, and granted to the monophysites such a powerful protection, as enabled them to reduce under their jurisdiction

sons, transported with the imaginary presence of this pretended divinity, fell into fits of enthusiasm, and walked barefooted over heaps of burning coals without receiving the least damage. The historian adds, that a spectacle so extraordinary drew a prodigious concourse of people to this annual solemnity. Pliny relates something of the same nature concerning the *Hirpi*. See his *Nat. Hist.* book vii. ch. ii.

almost all the churches that had been established in Egypt.¹

ii. The Greeks, during the greatest part of this century, ^{The paulicians.} were engaged in a most bitter controversy, or to speak more properly, in a bloody and barbarous war with the paulicians, a sect that may be considered as a branch of the manichæans, and which resided principally in Armenia. This pernicious sect is said to have been formed in Armenia by two brothers, Paul and John, sons of Callinices, and inhabitants of Samosatena, from the former of whom it derives its name; though others are of opinion that the paulicians were so called from another Paul, an Armenian by birth, who lived under the reign of Justinian II.^m Be that as it may, a certain zealot called Constantine, revived, in the seventh century, under the government of Constans, this drooping faction which had suffered deeply from the violence of its adversaries, and was ready to expire under the severity of the imperial edicts, and of those penal laws which were executed against its adherents with the utmost rigour. Constans, Justinian II. and Leo the Isaurian, exerted their zeal against the paulicians with a peculiar degree of bitterness and fury, and left no method of oppression unemployed, no means of accomplishing their ruin that were not put in execution; but their efforts were ineffectual, nor could all their power, nor all their barbarity, exhaust the patience, or conquer the obstinacy of that inflexible people, who, with a fortitude worthy of a better cause, made light of the calamities to which their erroneous doctrine exposed them. The face of things changed however to their advantage toward the commencement of this century, and their affairs carried a more prosperous aspect under the protection of the emperor Nicephorus, who favoured them in a particular manner, and restored to them their civil privileges, as well as their religious liberty.ⁿ

iii. Their tranquillity however was but of short duration; it was a transient scene that was soon to be succeeded by yet more dreadful sufferings than they had hitherto experienced. The cruel rage of perse-

¹ *Nouveaux Memoires de la Campagne de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 283, 284. Le Grand, *Dissert.* iv. Lobo, *Voyage Historique de l'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 18.

^m Photius, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 74, in B. Wolfi. *Anecdota Græcæ*, tom. i.

ⁿ See Georg. Cedrenus, *Compend. Historiar.* tom. ii. p. 480. edit. Paris. p. 379.

cution which had for some years been suspended, broke forth with redoubled violence under the reigns of Michael Curopalates, and Leo the Armenian, who caused the strictest search to be made after the paulicians in all the provinces of the Grecian empire, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the bosom of the church. This rigorous decree turned the afflictions of the paulicians, who dwelt in Armenia, into vengeance, and drove them into the most desperate measures. They massacred Thomas, bishop of New Cæsarea, and also the magistrates and judges which the emperors had established in Armenia; and after avenging themselves thus cruelly, they took refuge in the countries that were governed by the Saracens, and from thence infested the neighbouring states of Greece with perpetual incursions.* After these reciprocal acts of cruelty and vengeance, the paulicians, as it would seem, enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, and returned to their habitations in the Grecian provinces.

iv. But the most dreadful scene of persecution and bloodshed that was exhibited against these wretched heretics, arose from the furious and inconsiderate zeal of the empress Theodora. This impetuous woman, who was regent of the empire during the minority of her son, issued out a decree, which placed the paulicians in the perplexing alternative either of abandoning their principles, or of perishing by fire and sword. The decree was severe, but the cruelty with which it was put in execution by those who were sent into Armenia for that purpose, was horrible beyond expression; for these ministers of wrath, after confiscating the goods of above an hundred thousand of that miserable people, put their possessors to death in the most barbarous manner, and made them expire slowly in a variety of the most exquisite tortures. Such as escaped destruction fled for protection and refuge to the Saracens, who received them with compassion and humanity, and permitted them to build a city for their residence, which was called Tibrica. Upon this they entered into a league with the Saracens, and choosing for their chief an officer of the greatest resolution and valour, whose name was Carbeas, they declared against the Greeks a war which was carried on with the utmost vehemence and fury. This bloody war continued during this

The fate of
the paulicians
under Theo-
dora.

* Photius, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 125. Petri Siculi *Historia Manichæorum*, p. 74.

whole century; the victory seemed often doubtful, but the slaughter was terrible, and the numbers that perished on both sides prodigious. Many of the Grecian provinces felt, in a more particular manner, the dire effects of this cruel contest, and exhibited the most moving scenes of desolation and misery.^p During these commotions, some paulicians, toward the conclusion of this century, spread abroad among the Bulgarians their pestilential doctrines, which were received with docility, and took root speedily, as might naturally be expected, among a barbarous people that were but lately made converts to the christian faith.^q

v. The Greeks treated the paulicians, of whom we have been now speaking, as manichæans; though if we may credit the testimony of Photius, the paulicians expressed the utmost abhorrence of Manes and his doctrine.^r Most evident it is that they were not altogether manichæans, though they embraced some opinions that resembled certain tenets of that abominable sect. They had not, like the manichæans, an ecclesiastical government administered by bishops, priests, and deacons; they had no sacred order of men distinguished by their manner of life, their habit, or any other circumstance from the rest of the assembly; nor had councils, synods, or such like institutions any place in their religious polity. They had certain doctors whom they called *sunecdemi*, i. e. companions in

Whether or
not the pauli-
cians were ma-
nichæans.

^p Georg. Cedrenus, *Compend. Hist.* p. 541, ed. Paris, p. 425, ed. Venet. p. 547, et 429, &c. Zonaras, *Annal. lib. xvi. tom. ii.* p. 122, ed. Venet. The principal authors who have given accounts of the paulicians are Photius, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, and Petrus Siculus, whose history of the manichæans was published in Greek and Latin at Ingoldstadt, in 1604, by Matth. Radernus. By the account of Petrus Siculus that is given by himself, we learn that in the year 870, under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, he was sent ambassador to the paulicians at Tibrica, to treat with them concerning the exchange of prisoners, and lived among them during the space of nine months; this is sufficient to give us a high idea of the power and prosperity of the paulicians at that time. It is from this eminent writer that Cedrenus seems to have taken what he has advanced in his *Compend. Histor.* p. 431. What we learn concerning the paulicians from more modern writers, such as Bayle, in his *Dictionary*, and B. Jo. Christ. Wolfius, in his *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*, p. 247, seems to be derived from Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 129. But this authority is highly exceptionable; for Bossuet himself did not consult the true sources of knowledge upon this point; and what is still worse, the spirit of party seems manifestly to have led him into voluntary errors.

^q It is not improbable that there are yet in Thrace and Bulgaria, paulicians, as they are called by some. It appears at least certain, that in the last century some of that sect still subsisted, and dwelt at Nicopolis, as we learn from the testimony of Urb. Cerri, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72, who tells us, that Peter Deodati, archbishop of Sephia, caused them to abandon their errors, and return to the catholic faith; but whether this latter part of the account be true or false, is more than we shall pretend to determine.

^r Photius, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 17, 56, 65. Petr. Sicul. *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

the journey of life; and also *notarii*. Among these there reigned a perfect equality, and they had no peculiar rights, privileges, nor any external mark of dignity to distinguish them from the people.^s The only singularity that attended their promotion to the rank of doctors was, that they changed their lay names for scripture ones, as if there had been something peculiarly venerable in the names of the holy men, whose lives and actions are recorded in the sacred writings. They received all the books of the New Testament, except the two epistles of St. Pèter, which they rejected for reasons unknown to us; and their copies of the gospel were exactly the same with those used by all other christians, without the least interpolation of the sacred text; in which respect also they differed considerably from the manichæans.^t They moreover recommended to the people without exception, and that with the most affecting and ardent zeal, the constant and assiduous perusal of the holy scriptures, and expressed the utmost indignation against the Greeks, who allowed to the priests alone an access to these sacred fountains of divine knowledge.^u In explaining however the doctrines of the gospel, they often departed from the literal sense, and the natural signification of the words, and interpreted them in a forced and allegorical manner, when they opposed their favourite opinions and tenets;^w and such more especially were the delusive and erroneous explications, which they gave of what is said in the gospel concerning the institutions of baptism and the Lord's supper, and the divine authority of the Old Testament, all which they obstinately rejected. Beside the books of the New Testament, they treated with a particular veneration certain epistles of Sergius, the most eminent and illustrious doctor of their sect.

VI. None of the Greek writers have given a complete view of the paulician system, which was undoubtedly composed of a great variety of tenets; The opinions of the paulicians. they content themselves with mentioning six monstrous errors, which, in their estimation, rendered the paulicians unworthy of enjoying either the comforts of this world, or the happiness of the next. These errors are as follows. 1. "They deny that this inferior and visible

^s Photius, l. c. p. 31, 32. Petr. Sicul. p. 44. Cedrenus, l. c. p. 431.

^t Photius, l. c. p. 11. Petr. Sicul. p. 19.

^u Photius, l. c. p. 101. Petr. Sicul. p. 57.

^w Photius, l. c. p. 12.

world is the production of the Supreme Being, and they distinguish the creator of this world and of human bodies, from the most high God, who dwells in the heavens." It was principally on account of this odious doctrine which was however adopted by all the gnostic sects, that the paulicians were looked upon as manichæans by the Greeks. But what their sentiments were concerning the Creator of this world, and whether or not they considered him as a Being distinct from the evil principle, are matters that no writer has hitherto explained in a satisfactory manner. We learn only from Photius, that according to the paulician doctrine, the *evil principle* was engendered by *darkness* and *fire*; from whence it plainly follows that he was neither self originated, nor eternal.^x 2. "They treated contemptuously the Virgin Mary;" that is to say, according to the manner of speaking usual among the Greeks, they refused to adore and worship her. They maintained indeed that Christ was the Son of Mary, and was born of her, although they maintained, as appears from the express testimony of their adversaries, that the divine Saviour brought with him from heaven his human nature, and that Mary, after the birth of Christ, had other children by Joseph; they only fell into the sentiments of the valentinians, and held that Christ passed through the womb of the Virgin, as the pure stream of limpid water passes through a conduit, and that Mary did not preserve her virginity to the end of her days; all which assertions the Greeks rejected with the utmost antipathy and abhorrence. 3. "They refused to celebrate the holy institution of the Lord's supper;" for as they looked upon many precepts and injunctions of the gospel to be of a merely figurative and parabolical nature, so they understood by the bread and wine, which Christ is said to have administered to his disciples at his last supper, the divine discourses and exhortations of the Saviour, which are a spiritual food and nourishment to

^x Photius, lib. ii. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 147. It is evident, beyond all contradictions that the paulicians, in imitation of the oriental philosophers, from whom the gnostics and manichæans derived their origin, considered *eternal matter* as the seat and source of all evil; but they believed at the same time, like many of the gnostics, that this *matter*, endued from all eternity with life and motion, had produced an active principle, which was the fountain of vice, misery, and disorder. This principle, according to them, is the author of all material substances; while God is the Creator and Father of spirits. These tenets resemble, no doubt, the manichæan doctrine; yet they differ from it in several points. It appears most probable, that the paulicians were a branch of some of the ancient gnostic sects, which were extremely numerous and diversified, and which, though persecuted and oppressed from age to age in the most rigorous manner by many emperors, could never be entirely suppressed, nor totally exterminated.

the soul, and fill it with repose, satisfaction, and delight.⁷

4. "They loaded the cross of Christ with contempt and reproach;" by which we are only to understand, that they refused to follow the absurd and superstitious practice of the Greeks, who paid to the pretended wood of the cross a certain sort of religious homage. As the paulicians believed that Christ was clothed with an ethereal, impassible, and celestial body, they could by no means grant that he was *really* nailed to the cross, or that he expired, in effect, upon that ignominious tree; and hence naturally arose that treatment of the cross of which the Greeks accused them.

5. "They rejected, after the example of the greatest part of the gnostics, the books of the Old Testament, and looked upon the writers of that sacred history as inspired by the creator of this world, and not by the supreme God. 6. They excluded presbyters and elders from all part in the administration of the church." By this however no more can be meant, than that they refused to call their doctors by the name of *presbyters*, a name which had its origin among the Jews, and was peculiar to that odious people who persecuted Jesus Christ, and attempted, as the paulicians speak, to put him to death.²

⁷ The Greeks do not charge the paulicians with any error concerning *baptism*; it is however certain, that the accounts of that sacred institution, which are given in scripture, were allegorically explained by this extravagant sect; and Photius, in his *First Book against the Manichæans*, p. 29, expressly asserts, that the paulicians treated baptism as a mere allegorical ceremony, and by the baptismal water understood the *gospel*.

² These six famous errors of the paulicians I have taken from the manichæan history of Petrus Siculus, with whom Photius and Cedrenus agree, although their accounts of these opinions be less perspicuous and distinct. The explanatory remarks that I have added, are the result of my own reflections upon the paulician system, and the doctrine of the Greeks.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE deplorable state of Christianity in this century; arising partly from that astonishing ignorance that gave a loose rein both to superstition and immorality, and partly from an unhappy concurrence of causes of another kind, is unanimously lamented by the various writers, who have transmitted to us the history of these miserable times. Yet amidst all this darkness, some gleams of light were perceived from time to time, and several occurrences happened, which deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the church. The nestorians in Chaldaea extended their spiritual conquests beyond mount Imaus, and introduced the christian religion into Tartary, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the gospel among that most powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the name of Karit, and bordered on Kathay, or on the northern part of China.^a The laborious industry of this sect, and their zeal for the propagation of the christian faith deserve no doubt the highest encomiums; it must however be acknowledged, that the doctrine and worship, which they introduced among these barbarians, were far from being, in all respects, conformable to the precepts of the gospel, or to the true spirit and genius of the christian religion.

The propagation of the christian religion.

^a Jos. Sim. Assemani *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 482. Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* p. 256.

II. The prince of that country, whom the nestorians converted to the christian faith, assumed, if we may give credit to the vulgar tradition, the name of John after his baptism, to which he added the surname of *presbyter*, from a principle of modesty. Hence it was, as some learned men imagine, that the successors of this monarch retained these names until the time of Jenghis Khan, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and were each of them called Prester John.^b But all this has a very fabulous air; at least it is advanced without any solid proof; nay, it appears evident, on the contrary, that the famous Prester John, who made so much noise in the world, did not begin to reign in that part of Asia before the conclusion of the eleventh century. It is however certain beyond all contradiction, that the monarchs of the nation called Karit, which makes a large part of the empire of the Mogul, and is by some denominated a province of the Turks, and by others a tribe of the Tartars, embraced Christianity in this century: and that a considerable part of Tartary, or Asiatic Scythia, lived under the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops, who were sent among them by the nestorian pontiff.^c

III. If we turn our eyes to the western world, we shall find the gospel making its way with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The famous archpirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land,^d had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Norinans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the christian faith, and that upon the following occasion; Charles the Simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike and intrepid invader out of his dominions, was obliged to

Rollo first
duke of Nor-
mandy con-
verted.

^b See Assemani *Biblioth. Orientale Vaticana*, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 282.

^c The late learned Mr. B. Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, in his *Preface to the Museum Sinicum*, p. 145, informed us of his design to give the world an accurate account of the nestorian churches established in Tartary and China, drawn from some curious ancient records and monuments, that have not been as yet made public. His work was to have been entitled *Historia Ecclesiarum, Sinicarum, et Septentrionalis Asiæ*; but death prevented the execution of this interesting plan, and also of several others, which this great man had formed, and which would have undoubtedly cast a new light upon the history of the Asiatic christians.

^d Holbergi *Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societ. Scient. Hafniens.* pars iii. p. 357.

have recourse to the method of negotiation. He accordingly offered to make over to Rollo a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that the latter would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gisela,^e and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo without the least hesitation; and his army, following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant.^f These Norman pirates, as appears from many authentic records, were absolutely without religion of every kind, and therefore were not restrained, by the power of præjudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by the profits with which they were attended. It was from this Rollo, who received at his baptism the name of Robert, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin; for the province of Bretagne, and a part of Neustria, which Charles the Simple conveyed to his son in law by a solemn grant, were, from this time, known by the name of Normandy,^g which they derived from their new possessors.

iv. The christian religion was introduced into Poland by the zealous efforts of female piety. Dambrowka, daughter of Bolislaus, duke of Bohemia, The conversion of the Polish nation. persuaded by the force of repeated exhortations, her husband Micislaus, duke of Poland, to abandon paganism, in consequence of which he embraced the gospel, A. D. 965. The account of this agreeable event was no sooner brought to Rome, than the pontiff, John XIII. sent into Poland Ægidius, bishop of Tusculum, attended with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, in order to second the pious efforts of the duke and dutchess, who desired, with impatience, the conversion of their subjects. But the exhortations and endeavours of these devout missionaries, who were unacquainted with the language of the people they came to instruct, would have been entirely without effect, had they not been accompanied with the edicts and penal laws, the promises and threats of Micislaus, which dejected the courage, and conquered the obstinacy of the reluc-

^e Other writers more politely represent the offer of Gisela as one of the methods that Charles employed to obtain a peace with Rollo.

^f Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 296. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 587.

^g It was Neustria properly, and not Bretagne, that received the name of Normandy, from the Normans who chose Rollo for their chief.

tant Poles. When therefore the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, had laid the foundations of Christianity in Poland, two national archbishops and seven bishops were consecrated to the ministry, whose zeal and labours were followed with such success, that the whole body of the people abandoned by degrees their ancient superstitions, and made public profession of the religion of Jesus.^h It was indeed no more than an external profession; for that inward change of affections and principles, which the gospel requires, was far from being an object of attention in this barbarous age.

v. The christian religion was established in Russia by means every way similar to those that had occasioned its propagation in Poland; for we must not lay any stress upon the proselytes that were made to Christianity among the Russians in the preceding century; since these conversions were neither permanent nor solid, and since it appears evidently, that such of that nation as, under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, had embraced the doctrine of the Greek church, relapsed soon after into the superstition of their ancestors. Wlodomir, duke of Russia and Moscovy, married, in the year 961, Anne, sister of Basilus, the second Grecian emperor of that name; and this zealous princess, by her repeated entreaties, and her pious importunity, persuaded at length her reluctant spouse to receive the christian faith, and he was accordingly baptized, A. D. 987, assuming upon that occasion the name of Basilus. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their prince; we have at least no account of any compulsion or violence being employed in their conversion,ⁱ and this is the true date of the entire establishment of Christianity among that people. Wlodomir and his dutchess were placed in the highest order of the Russian saints, and are still worshipped at Kiovia, where they lie interred, with the greatest devotion. The Latins however paid no such respect to the memory of Wlodomir, whom they represent as absolutely unworthy of saintly honours.^k

^h Duglossi *Historia Polonica*, lib. vii. p. 91, lib. viii. p. 95, 239. Regenvolschii *Historia Eccles. Slavon.* lib. ii. cap. i. p. 8. Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pars i. p. 41. Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 71.

ⁱ See Anton. Pagi *Critica in Baron.* tom. iv. ad A. 987, p. 55, et ad A. 1015, p. 110. Car. du Fresne, *Familie Byzantinæ*, p. 143, ed. Paris.

^k Ditmarus, *Merseb.* lib. vii. *Caronic.* p. 417, tom. i. *Scriptor. Brunsvic.* J. Leibnitzii.

vi. The Hungarians and Avari had received some faint notions of Christianity under the reign of Charle-^{and in Hun-} magne, and in consequence of the measures that had been taken by that zealous prince for the propagation of the gospel. These notions however were soon and easily extinguished by various circumstances which took their rise from the death of Charlemagne; and it was not before the century of which we now write, that the christian religion obtained a fixed settlement among these warlike nations.¹ Toward the middle of this century, Bulosudes and Gyvla, or Gylas, two Turkish chiefs, whose governments lay upon the banks of the Danube,^m made public profession of Christianity, and were baptized at Constantinople. The former apostatized soon after to the religion of his ancestors; while the latter not only persevered steadfastly in his new profession, but also showed the most zealous concern for the conversion of his subjects, who, in consequence of his express order, were instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel by Hierotheus, a learned prelate, by whom he had been accompanied in his journey to Constantinople. Sarolta, the daughter of Gylas, was afterward given in marriage to Geysa, the chief of the Hungarian nation, whom she persuaded to embrace the divine religion in which she had been educated. The faith however of this new converted prince was feeble and unsteady, and he retained a strong propensity to the superstition which he had been engaged to forsake; but his apostacy was prevented by the pious remonstrances of Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, who came into Hungary toward the conclusion of this century, and by whom also Stephen, the son of Geysa, was baptized with great pomp and solemnity. It was to this young prince that the gospel was principally indebted for its propagation and establishment among the Hungarians, whose entire conversion was the fruit of his zeal for the cause of Christ. For he perfected what his father and grandfather had only begun; fixed bishops, with large revenues, in various places; erected magnificent temples for divine worship; and by the influence of instructions, threatenings, rewards, and punishments, he brought his subjects, almost without exception, to abandon the wretch-

¹ Pauli Debrezeni *Historia Eccles. Reformat. in Ungaria*, pars i. cap. iii. p. 19.

^m The Hungarians and Transylvanians were, at this time, known to the Grecians by the name of Turks.

ed superstition of their idolatrous ancestors. These vigorous proceedings, by which Stephen introduced the religion of Jesus among the Hungarians, procured him the most distinguished honours of saintship in succeeding ages.^a

vii. The christian religion was in a very unsettled state among the Danes under the reign of Gormon, In Denmark. and notwithstanding the protection it received from his queen, who professed it publicly, was obliged to struggle with many difficulties, and to encounter much opposition. The face of things changed indeed after the death of Gormon. His son Harald, surnamed Blaataud, being defeated by Otho the Great, A. D. 949, embraced the gospel, and was baptized, together with his consort and his son Sucno, or Swcin, by Adaldagus, archbishop of Hamburgh, or as others allege, by Poppon, a pious ecclesiastic, who attended the emperor in this expedition. It is probable that Harald, educated by his mother Tyra, who was a christian, was not extremely averse to the religion of Jesus; it appears however certain, that his conversion was less the effect of his own choice, than of the irresistible commands of his victorious enemy. For Otho, persuaded that the Danes would never desist from their hostile incursions and rapines, as long as they persevered in the religion of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish a ferocity of temper, and to animate to military exploits, made it the principal condition of the treaty of peace, which he concluded with Harald, that both he and his subjects should receive the christian faith.^o Upon the conversion of this prince, Adaldagus and Poppon employed

^a The Greeks, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles, claim each for themselves the peculiar honour of having been the founders of the christian religion in Hungary. and their respective pretensions have introduced not a little obscurity into this matter. The Germans allege, that the christian religion was brought into Hungary by Gisela, sister to their emperor, Henry II. who being given in marriage to Stephen, the king of that nation, persuaded that prince to embrace the gospel. The Bohemians tell us, on the other hand, that it was by the ministry of Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, that Stephen was converted. The Poles affirm, that Geysa, having married a Christian princess of their nation, viz. Adelheid, sister to Micislaus, duke of Poland, was induced by her remonstrances and exhortations to make profession of Christianity. In consequence of a careful examination of all these pretensions, we have followed the sentiments and decisions of the Greek writers, after having diligently compared them with the Hungarian historians; and we are encouraged in this by the authority of the learned Gabriel de Juxta Hornad, who, in his *Initia Religionis Christianæ inter Hungaros Ecclesiæ orientali adserta*, published at Frankfort in 1740, decides this question in favour of the Greeks. All other accounts of the matter are extremely imperfect, and subject to many doubts and difficulties.

^o Adam Brem *Hist. lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. p. 16, cap. xv. p. 20*, in Lindenbrogii *Scriptoribus verum Septentrional. Alb. Kranzii Wandalia, lib. iv. cap. xx. Ludwigi Reliquæ Monumentor. tom. ix. p. 10. Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Diplomatici, tom. i. p. 59.*

their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, in order to engage them to imitate such an illustrious example; and their exhortations were crowned with remarkable success, to which the stupendous miracles performed by Poppon are said to have contributed in a particular manner. These miracles indeed were of such a kind as manifestly shows that they derived their origin from human art, and not from a divine interposition.^p As long as Harald lived, he used every wise and probable method of confirming his subjects in the religion they had embraced. For this purpose he established bishops in several parts of his dominions, enacted excellent laws, abrogated superstitious customs, and imposed severe restraints upon all vicious and immoral practices. But after all these pious efforts, and salutary measures, which promised such fair prospects to the rising church, his son Sueno, or Swein, apostatized from the truth, and, during a certain time, involved the christians in the deepest calamity and distress, and treated them with the greatest cruelty and injustice. This persecuting tyrant felt however in his turn the heavy strokes of adversity, which produced a salutary change in his conduct, and happily brought him to a better mind; for being driven from his kingdom, and obliged to seek his safety in a state of exile among the Scots, he embraced anew the religion he had abandoned, and upon his restoration to his dominions, exerted the most ardent and exemplary zeal in the cause of Christianity, which he endeavoured to promote to the utmost of his power.^q

viii. It was in this century that the first dawn of the gospel arose upon the Norwegians, as we learn from the most authentic records. The conversion In Norway. of that people was attempted, in the year 933, by their monarch Hagen Adelsteen, who had been educated among the English, and who employed certain ecclesiastics of that nation to instruct his subjects in the doctrines of Christianity. But his pious efforts were rendered fruitless by the brutal obstinacy, with which the Norwegians persevered in their ancient prejudices, and the assiduity and zeal with which his successor Harald Graufeldt pursued

^p Jo. Adolph. Cupræi *Annales Episcoporum Slesvic.* cap. xiii. p. 78. Adam *Bremensis.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22, cap. xlv. p. 28. Jo. Stephan. *ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207. Mølleri *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbric.* pars. ii. cap. iii. § 14.


^q Saxon. *Gramm. Histor. Dan.* lib. x. p. 186. Pontoppidan, *De gestis et vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. ii. cap. i. § 1, 2.

the same plan of reformation, were also without effect.^r The succeeding princes, far from being discouraged by these obstacles, persisted firmly in their worthy purpose, and Haco, among others, yielding to the entreaties of Harald, king of Denmark; to whom he was indebted for the Norwegian crown, embraced, himself, the christian religion, and recommended it, with the greatest fervour, to his subjects in an assembly of the people that was held in the year 945.^s This recommendation, notwithstanding the solemnity and zeal with which it was accompanied, made little impression upon the minds of this fierce and barbarous people; nor were they entirely gained over by the zealous endeavours of Olaus to convert them to Christianity, though the pious diligence of that prince, which procured him the honour of saintship, was not altogether without effect.^t But that which gave the finishing stroke to the conversion of the Norwegians was their subjection to Suenon, or Swein, king of Sweden; who having defeated their monarch Olaus Tryggueson, became master of Norway, and obliged its inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace universally the religion of Jesus.^u Among the various doctors, that were sent to instruct this barbarous people, the most eminent, both in merit and authority, was Guthebold, an English priest.^w From Norway, Christianity spread its salutary light through the adjacent countries, and was preached with success in the Orkney islands, which were at this time subject to the Norwegian kings, and also in Iceland and Old

^r Eric. Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ diplomat.* tom. i. p. 66.

^s Torm. Torfæi *Historia Norwegica*, tom. ii. p. 183, 214.

^t Torfæus, l. c. p. 457.

 ^u Dr. Mosheim attributes here to Swein the honour which is due to his predecessor Olaus Tryggueson; if it can be esteemed an honour to have promoted a rational and divine religion by compulsion and violence, by fire and sword. Olaus, who had abjured paganism in England, during his youth, in consequence of a warm and pathetic discourse which he had heard from a British priest, returned to Norway with a firm resolution to propagate Christianity throughout his dominions. For this purpose he travelled from one province to another, attended by a chosen band of soldiers, and sword in hand performed the functions of missionary and apostle. His ministry, thus enforced, was followed with the desired success throughout all the provinces, except that of Drontheim, which rose in rebellion against him, and attacked Christianity with the same kind of arguments that Olaus employed in establishing it. This opposition occasioned several bloody battles, which ended however in the defeat of the rebels, and of the god Thor, their tutelary deity, whose statue Olaus dragged from its place, and burnt publicly in the sight of his worshippers. This event dejected the courage of the inhabitants of Drontheim, who submitted to the religion and laws of their conqueror. And thus, before the reign of Suenon, at least before the defeat of Olaus by that prince, Norway was christian. See *The History of Denmark*, lately published in French by Mr. Mallet, professor in *Belles Lettres* at Copenhagen, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

^w *Chron. Danicum a Ludewigio editum in Reliquiis MS. torum*, tom. ix. p. 11, 16, 17

Groenland; for it is evident from many circumstances and records of undoubted authority that the greatest part of the inhabitants of these countries had received the gospel in this century.*

ix. In Germany the pious exploits of Otho the Great contributed, in a signal manner, to promote the interest of Christianity, and to fix and establish it upon solid foundations throughout the empire. The zeal of Otho the Great in the cause of Christianity. This truly great prince, whose pious magnanimity clothed him with a lustre infinitely superior to that which he derived from his imperial dignity, was constantly employed in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions, and in supporting and confirming the infant church, which in several provinces had not yet arrived to any considerable degree of consistence and vigour. That there might be rulers and pastors to govern the church, and to contribute both by their doctrine and example to the reformation and improvement of an unpolished and illiterate people, he established bishops in several places, and generously erected and endowed the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; by which excellent establishments the church was furnished with eminent doctors from various parts, whose instructions were the occasion of raising up new labourers in the gospel harvest, and of thus multiplying the ministers of Christ from time to time. It was also through the munificence of the same prince, that many convents were erected for those who, in conformity with the false piety of the times, chose to finish their christian course in the indolent sanctity of a solitary life, and it was by his express order that schools were established in almost every city for the education of the youth. All this may serve to show us the generosity and zeal of this illustrious emperor, whose merit would have surpassed the highest encomiums, had his prudence and moderation been equal to the fervour of his piety, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the superstition of his empress,^y

* Concerning the conversion of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, see Torm. Torfæi *Historia Rerum Orkadeus*. lib. i. p. 22, and for an account of the Icelanders, the reader may consult Arngnim. Jonas's *Cynogææ*, lib. i. and Arius Multis. in *Schedis Islandiæ*; as also Torfæus, in his *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 378, 379, 417, and Gabriel Liron's *Singularites Historiques et Litteraires*, tom. i. p. 138. The same Torfæus gives a full account of the introduction of Christianity into Groenland, in his *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 374, and also in his *Groenlandia Antiqua*, c. xvii. p. 127.

^y See the life of this empress, whose name was Adelaid, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Henry Canisius, tom. iii. pars i. p. 69.

and the deplorable ignorance of the times, deluded this good prince into the notion, that he obliged the Deity in proportion as he loaded the clergy with riches and honours, and that nothing was more proper to draw down upon him the divine protection, than the exercise of a boundless liberality to his ministers. In consequence of this idle and extravagant fancy, Otho opened the sources of his opulence, which flowed into the church like an overgrown torrent, so that the bishops, monks, and religious houses wallowed in wealth and abundance. But succeeding ages perceived the unhappy effects of this excessive and ill judged munificence ; when the sacred orders employed this opulence, which they had acquired without either merit or labour, in gratifying their passions, in waging war against all who opposed their ambitious pretensions, and in purchasing the various pleasures of a luxurious and effeminate life.

x. It was no doubtful mark of the progress and strength of the christian cause, that the European kings and princes began so early as this century to form the project of a holy war against the mahometans, who were masters of Palestine. They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon christians, that the very land in which the divine author of their religion had received his birth, exercised his ministry, and made expiation for the sins of mortals, should be abandoned to the enemies of the christian name. They also looked upon it as highly just, and suitable to the majesty of the christian religion, to avenge the calamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach, which its professors had suffered under the mahometan yoke. The bloody signal was accordingly given toward the conclusion of this century, by the Roman pontiff, Silvester II. and that in the first year of his pontificate. And this signal was an epistle, wrote in the name of the church of Jerusalem, to the church universal throughout the world,² in which the European powers are solemnly exhorted and entreated to succour and deliver the christians in Palestine. The exhortations of the pontiff were however without effect, except upon the inhabitants of Pisa, who are said to have obeyed the papal summons with the utmost alacrity, and to have prepared themselves immediately for a holy campaign.³

² This is the xxviiith epistle in the first part of the collection of the letters of Silvester II. that is published by Du Chesne, in the third volume of his *Scriptor. Histor. Franc.*

³ See *Narratori Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. 400

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE christian religion suffered less in this century from the cruelty of its enemies, than from the defection of its friends. Of all the pagan monarchs, under whose government the christians lived, none behaved to them in a hostile manner, nor tormented them with the execution of compulsive edicts or penal laws, except Gormon and Swein, kings of Denmark. Notwithstanding this, their affairs were far from being either in a fixed or flourishing state; nay, their situation was full of uncertainty and peril, both in the eastern and western provinces. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, amidst the intestine divisions under which they groaned, and the calamities that overwhelmed them from different quarters, were extremely assiduous in propagating every where the doctrines of Mahomet, nor were their efforts unsuccessful. Multitudes of christians fell into their snares; and the Turks, a valiant and fierce nation, who inhabited the northern coast of the Caspian sea, received their doctrine. The uniformity of religion did not however produce a solid union of interest between the Turks and Saracens; on the contrary, their dissensions and quarrels were never more violent, than from the time that Mahomet became their common chief in religious matters. The succours of the former were implored by the Persians, whose country was a prey to the ambitious usurpations of the latter, and these succours were granted with the utmost alacrity and readiness. The Turks accordingly fell upon the Saracens in a furious manner, drove them out of the whole extent of the Persian territories, and afterward, with incredible rapidity and success, invaded, seized, and plundered the other provinces that belonged to that people, whose desolation, in reality, came on like a whirlwind. Thus the powerful empire of the Saracens, which its enemies had for so many years attempted in vain to overturn, fell at last by the hands of its allies and friends. The Turks accomplished what the Greeks and Romans ineffectually aimed at; they struck suddenly that dreadful blow which ruined at once the affairs of the Saracens in Persia, and then deprived them, by

degrees, of their other dominions; and thus the Ottoman empire, which was still an object of terror to the christians, was established upon the ruins of the Saracen dominion.^b

n. In the western provinces the christians had much to suffer from the hatred and cruelty of those who remained under the darkness of paganism. The Normans, during a great part of this century committed, in several parts of France, the most barbarous hostilities, and involved the christians, wherever they carried their victorious arms, in numberless calamities. The Samaritans, Slavonians, Bohemians, and others, who had either conceived an aversion for the gospel, or were sunk in a stupid ignorance of its intrinsic excellence and its immortal blessings, not only endeavoured to extirpate Christianity out of their own territories by the most barbarous efforts of cruelty and violence, but infested the adjacent countries, where it was professed, with fire and sword, and left, wherever they went, the most dreadful marks of their unrelenting fury. The Danes moreover did not cease to molest the christians, until they were subdued by Otho the Great, and thus, from being the enemies, became the friends of the christian cause. The Hungarians also contributed their part to the sufferings of the church, by their incursions into several parts of Germany, which they turned into scenes of desolation and misery; while the fierce Arabs, by their tyranny in Spain, and their depredations in Italy and the neighbouring islands, spread calamity and oppression all around them, of which no doubt the christians, established in these parts had the heaviest portion.

111. Whoever considers the endless vexations, persecutions, and calamities, which the christians suffered from the nations that continued in their ancient superstitions, will easily perceive the reason of that fervent and inextinguishable zeal, which christian princes discovered for the conversion of these nations, whose impetuous and savage fury they experienced from time to time. A principle of self preservation, and a prudent regard to their own safety, as well as a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, engaged them to put in practice every method that might open the eyes of their barbarous adversaries, from a rational and well grounded hope

^b For a more ample account of these revolutions, see the *Annales Turcici* of Leunclavius; as also Georgii Ehmæini *Historia Saracenica*, p. 190, 203, 210.

that the precepts of Christianity would mitigate, by degrees, the ferocity of these nations, and soften their rugged and intractable tempers. Hence it was that christian kings and emperors left no means unemployed to draw these infidels within the pale of the church. For this purpose, they proposed to their chiefs alliances of marriage, offered them certain districts and territories, auxiliary troops to maintain them against their enemies, upon condition that they would abandon the superstition of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish their ferocity, and to increase their passion for blood and carnage. These offers were attended with the desired success, as they induced the infidel chiefs not only to lend an ear themselves to the instructions and exhortations of the christian missionaries, but also to oblige their subjects and armies to follow their examples in this respect.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. **THE** deplorable ignorance of this barbarous age, in which the drooping arts were totally neglected, and the sciences seemed to be upon the point of expiring for want of encouragement, is unanimously confessed and lamented by all the writers who have transmitted to us any accounts of this period of time. Nor indeed will this fatal revolution, in the republic of letters, appear astonishing to such as consider on the one hand the terrible vicissitudes, tumults, and wars that turned all things into confusion both in the eastern and western world, and on the other the ignominious stupidity and dissoluteness of those sacred orders who had been appointed as the guardians of truth and learning. Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks toward the commencement of this century, was himself an eminent lover of learning, and an auspicious and zealous protector of such as distinguished themselves in the culture of the sciences.^c This noble and generous disposition appeared with still the greater lustre in his son Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who not only discovered the greatest ardour for the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece,^d but also employed the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of this excellent purpose. It was with this view that he spared no expense in drawing to his court, and supporting in his dominions, a variety of learned men, each of whom excelled in some of the different branches of literature, and in causing the most diligent search to be made after the writings of the ancients. With this view, also, he became himself an author,^e and thus animated by his example, as

^c See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. pars ii. cap. v. p. 363.

^d Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* lib. v. pars ii. cap. v. p. 486.

^e We have yet remaining of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, son of Leo the Philosopher, the following productions ;

well as by his protection, men of genius and abilities to enrich the sciences with their learned productions. He employed, moreover, a considerable number of able pens, in making valuable extracts from the commentaries and other compositions of the ancients; which extracts were preserved in certain places for the benefit and satisfaction of the curious; and thus, by various exertions of liberality and zeal, this learned prince restored the arts and sciences to a certain degree of life and vigour.^f But few of the Greeks followed this great and illustrious example; nor was there any among the succeeding emperors who equalled these two excellent princes in zeal for the advancement of learning, or in lending, by their protection and encouragement, an auspicious hand to raise out of obscurity and dejection, neglected and depressed genius. But what is still more remarkable, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, whom we have now been representing as the restorer of letters, and whom the Greeks unanimously admire in this character, is supposed by some to have done considerable prejudice to the cause of learning by the very means he employed to promote its advancement. For by employing learned men to extract from the writers of antiquity what they thought might contribute to the improvement of the various arts and sciences, he gave too much occasion to neglect the sources, and flattered the indolence of the effeminate Greeks, who confined their studies to these extracts, and neglected, in effect, the perusal of the writers from whom they were drawn. And hence it unfortunately happened, that many of the most celebrated authors of antiquity were lost, at this time, through the sloth and negligence of the Greeks.

11. This method, as the event manifestly showed, was really detrimental to the progress of true learning and genius. And accordingly we find among the Greek writers of this century, but a small num-

Few eminent
writers among
the Greeks.

The Life of the emperor Basilius.

A Treatise upon the art of Governing, in which he investigates the origin of several nations, treats of their power, their progress, their revolutions, and their decline, and gives a series of their princes and rulers.

A Discourse concerning the manner of forming a Land Army and Naval Force in Order of Battle.

Two Books concerning the eastern and western Provinces. Which may be considered as an account of the state of the empire in the time of this prince.

^f All this appears evident from the accounts left upon record by Zonaras, in his *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 155, edit. Paris.

ber, who acquired a distinguished and shining reputation in the republic of letters ; so that the fair and engaging prospects which seemed to arise in the cause of learning from the munificence and zeal of its imperial patrons, vanished in a short time ; and though the seeds of science were richly sown, the natural expectations of an abundant harvest were unhappily disappointed. Nor did the cause of philosophy succeed better than that of literature. Philosophers indeed there were ; and, among them, some that were not destitute of genius and abilities ; but none who rendered their names immortal by productions that were worthy of being transmitted to posterity ; a certain number of rhetoricians and grammarians ; a few poets who were above contempt ; and several historians, who, without deserving the highest encomiums, were not however totally void of merit. Such were the members which composed at this time the republic of letters in Greece, whose inhabitants seemed to take pleasure in those kinds of literature alone, in which industry, imagination, and memory are concerned.

iii. Egypt, though at this time it groaned under a heavy and exasperating yoke of oppression and bondage, produced writers, who in genius and learning were no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecian literati. Of the many examples we might mention to prove the truth of this assertion, we shall confine ourselves to that of Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, who cultivated the sciences of physic and theology with the greatest success, and cast a new light upon them both by his excellent writings. The Arabians, during this whole century, preserved that noble passion for the arts and sciences, which had been kindled among them in the preceding age ; and hence they abounded with physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, whose names and characters, together with an account of their respective abilities and talents, are given by Leo Africanus and other literary historians.

iv. The Latins present to us a spectacle of a very different kind. They were, almost without exception, sunk in the most brutish and barbarous ignorance ; so that, according to the unanimous accounts of the most credible writers, nothing could be more melancholy and deplorable than the darkness that reigned

The state of
learning among the
Saracens.

In the western
provinces.

in the western world during this century, which, with respect to learning and philosophy at least, may be called the *iron age* of the Latins.^g Some learned men of modern times have, we confess, ventured to call this in question; but their doubts are certainly without foundation, and the matter of fact is too firmly established by unquestionable authorities to lose any part of its credit in consequence of the objections they allege against it.^h It is true there were public schools founded in most of the European provinces, some of which were erected in the monasteries, and the rest in those cities where the bishops resided. It is also true, that through this dismal night of ignorance there shone forth from time to time, and more especially toward the conclusion of this century, some geniuses of a superior order, who eyed with ardour the paths of science, and cast some rays of light upon the darkness of a barbarous age. But they were very few in number, and their extreme rarity is a sufficient proof of the infelicity of the times in which they appeared. In the seminaries of learning, such as they were, the seven liberal sciences were taught in the most unskilful and miserable manner, and that by the monks, who esteemed the arts and sciences no farther than as they were subservient to the interests of religion, or, to speak more properly, to the views of superstition.

v. They who were the most learned and judicious among the monastic orders, and who were desirous of employing usefully a part of their leisure, applied themselves to the composition of annals and histories which savoured of the ignorance and barbarism of the times. Such were Abo, Luitprand, Wittekind, Fulcuin, Johannes Ca-

Monkish
learning.

^g The testimonies that prove the ignorance which prevailed in the tenth century, are collected by Du Boulay, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 288; and also by Lud. Ant. Muratori, in his *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 831, et tom. ii. p. 141, &c.

^h The famous Leibnitz, in his *Præfatio ad codicem juris Nat. et Gentium Diplomaz.* affirms, that there was more knowledge and learning in the tenth century, than in the succeeding ages, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But this is washing the Ethiopian; it is also an extravagant assertion, and savours much of paradox. We shall be better directed in our notions of this matter by Mabillon, in his *Præfatio ad Actor. SS. Ordin. Bened. Quint. Sæc.* p. 2, by the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, and by Le Beuf's *Dissertat. de Statu literarum in Francia, a Carolo M. ad regem Robert.* who all agree in acknowledging the gross ignorance of this century, though they would engage us to believe that its barbarism and darkness were not so hideous as they are commonly represented. There are, indeed, several considerations that render the reasons and testimonies even of these writers not a little defective; but we nevertheless agree with them so far, as to grant that all learning and knowledge were not absolutely extinguished in Europe at this time; and that, in the records of this century, we shall find a few chosen spirits, who pierced through the cloud of ignorance that covered the multitude.

puanus, Ratherius, Flodoard, Notker, Ethelbert, [and others, who, though very different from each other in their respective degrees of merit, were all in general ignorant of the true nature and rules of historical composition. Several of the poets of this age gave evident marks of true genius, but they were strangers to the poetic art, which was not indeed necessary to satisfy a people utterly destitute of elegance and taste. The grammarians and rhetoricians of these unhappy times are scarcely worthy of mention; their method of instructing was full of absurdities, and their rules trivial and for the most part injudicious. The same judgment may be formed in general of the geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, which were more or less taught in the public schools, and of which a more particular account would be uninstrucing and insipid.

vi. The philosophy of the Latins extended no farther than the single science of *logic* and *dialectics*, which they looked upon as the sum and substance of all human wisdom. But this logic, which was so highly admired, was drawn without the least perspicuity or method from a book of *Categories*, which some have unjustly attributed to Augustin, and others to Porphyry. It is true indeed that the *Timæus* of Plato, the *Topica* of Cicero and Aristotle, and the book of the latter, *De interpretatione*, with other compositions of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of several of the doctors of this century, as we learn from credible accounts; but the same accounts inform us, that the true sense of these excellent authors was understood by almost none of those that perused them daily.ⁱ It will appear no doubt surprising, that in such an ignorant age, such a subtle question as that concerning *universal ideas* should ever have been thought of; true however it is, that the famous controversy, *whether universal ideas belonged to the class of objects, or of mere names*; a controversy which perplexed and bewildered the Latin doctors in succeeding times, and gave rise to the two opposite sects of the *nominalists* and *realists*; was started for the first time in this century. Accordingly we find in several passages of the writers of this period, the seeds and beginnings of this tedious and intricate dispute.^k

ⁱ Gunzo *Epistol. ad Monachos Augienses* in Martene *Collect. Ampliss. Monumentor. Veter.* tom. iii. p. 304.

^k This appears evident from the following remarkable passage, which the reader will find in the 304th page of the work cited in the preceding note, and in which the learned Gunzo expresses himself in the following manner. "Aristoteles, genus, spe-

VII. The drooping sciences found an eminent and illustrious patron, toward the conclusion of this century, in the learned Gerbert, a native of France, who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, assumed the title of Silvester II. The genius of this famous pontiff was extensive and sublime, embracing all the different branches of literature; but its more peculiar bent was turned toward mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent zeal, and not without success, as his writings abundantly testify; nor did he stop here; but employed every method that was proper to encourage and animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and sciences. The effects of this noble zeal were visible in Germany, France, and Italy, both in this and in the following century; as by the writings, example, and encouraging exhortations of Gerbert, many were excited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its various branches. If indeed we compare this learned pontiff with the mathematicians of modern times, his merit, in that point of view, will almost totally disappear under such a disadvantageous comparison; for his *geometry*, though it be easy and perspicuous, is but elementary and superficial.¹ Yet such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of barbarism and darkness, and surpassed the comprehension of those pigmy philosophers, whose eyes under the auspicious direction of Gerbert, were but just beginning to open upon the light. Hence it was, that the geometrical figures, described by this mathematical pontiff, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontiff himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of satan.^m

The restoration of letters in Europe by Silvester II.

ciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Plaioni magis credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque auctoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre." Here we see plainly the seeds of discord sown, and the foundation laid for that knotty dispute which puzzled the metaphysical brains of the Latin doctors in after times. Gunzo was not adventurous enough to attempt a solution of this intricate question, which he leaves undecided; others were less modest, without being more successful.

¹ This geometry was published by Pezsius, in his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 7.

^m See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vi. p. 558. Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 314, 319. Naude, *Apologie pour les Grands Hommes faussement accuses de la Magie*, chap. xix. § 4.

VIII. It was not however to the fecundity of his genius alone, that Gerbert was indebted for the knowledge with which he now began to enlighten the European provinces; he had derived a part of his erudition, particularly in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, from the writings and instructions of the Arabians who were settled in Spain. Thither he had repaired in pursuit of knowledge, and had spent some time in the seminaries of learning at Cordova and Seville, with a view to hear the Arabian doctors;ⁿ and it was perhaps by his example, that the Europeans were directed and engaged to have recourse to this source of instruction in after times. For it is undeniably certain, that from the time of Gerbert, such of the Europeans as were ambitious of making any considerable progress in physic, arithmetic, geometry, or philosophy, entertained the most eager and impatient desire of receiving instruction either from the academical lessons, or from the writings of the Arabian philosophers, who had founded schools in several parts of Spain and Italy. Hence it was, that the most celebrated productions of these doctors were translated into Latin, their tenets and systems adopted with zeal in the European schools, and that numbers went over to Spain and Italy to receive instruction from the mouths of these famous teachers, which were supposed to utter nothing but the deepest mysteries of wisdom and knowledge. However excessive this veneration for the Arabian doctors may have been, it must be owned, nevertheless, that all the knowledge, whether of physic, astronomy, philosophy, or mathematics, which flourished in Europe from the tenth century, was originally derived from them; and that the Spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy.

Who derived
his knowledge
and erudition
from the Ara-
bians.

ⁿ See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 314.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. To those who consider the primitive dignity, and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. ^{The corruption of the clergy.} These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church which we have now before us. Both in the eastern and western provinces, the clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse, who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind. We may form some notion of the Grecian patriarchs from the single example of Theophylact, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about any thing but his dogs and horses.^o Degenerate however and licentious as these patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman pontiffs.

¶^o This exemplary prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stable above two thousand hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where having expressed his joy at that *grand* event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service, which he had left interrupted during his absence. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livre IV. p. 97, edit. Bruxelles.

11. The history of the Roman pontiffs, that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greatest part of Europe, and that afflicted Italy in a particular manner, after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne. Upon the death of the pontiff, Benedict IV. which happened in the year 908, Leo V. was raised to the pontificate, which he enjoyed no longer than forty days, being dethroned by Christopher, and cast into prison. Christopher, in his turn, was deprived of the pontifical dignity the year following by Sergius III. a Roman presbyter, seconded by the protection and influence of Adalbert, a most powerful Tuscan prince, who had a supreme and unlimited direction in all the affairs that were transacted at Rome. Anastasius III. and Lando, who, upon the death of Sergius, in the year 911, were raised successively to the papal dignity, enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing that could contribute to render their names illustrious.

12. After the death of Lando, which happened in the year 914, Alberic,^p marquis or count of Tuscany, whose opulence was prodigious, and whose authority in Rome was despotic and unlimited, obtained the pontificate for John X. archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother in law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion.^a This infamous election will not surprise such as know that the laws of Rome were at this time absolutely silent; that the dictates of justice and equity were overpowered and suspended; and that all things were carried on in that great city, by interest or corruption, by violence or fraud. John X. though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness in the papal

The history of
the Roman
pontiffs.

John X. created
Roman
pontiff.

[P] It was Albert or Adalbert, and not Alberic, who was the son in law of the elder Theodora, of whom Dr. Mosheim here speaks. Alberic was grandson to this Theodora, by her daughter Marczia, who was married to Albert. See Spanheim, *Eccles. Hist. Secul. x.* p. 1432. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre liv. p. 671, edit. Bruxelles. This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger Theodora, the sister of Marozia, who, from an amorous principle, raised John X. to the pontificate.

[P] Theodora, mistress of Rome, had John X. raised to the pontificate, that she might continue that licentious commerce in which she had lived with that carnal ecclesiastic for many years past. See Fleury, and other writers, &c.

chair, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the Garigliano.¹ He did not however enjoy his glory long; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Alberic, proved fatal to him. For this bloody minded woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious and unlucky pontiff was succeeded by Leo VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of this latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III. whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman church.²

IV. John XI. who was placed at the head of the church by the credit and influence of his mother, was ^{John XI. and XII.} pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur, A. D. 933, by Alberic, his half brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother Marozia had, after the death of Wido, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with Hugo, king of Italy, who, having offended his step son Alberic, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for Alberic drove out of Rome not only Hugo, but also Marozia and her son the pontiff, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who, in their turns, succeeded John XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, where Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marinus II. and Agapet, whose cha-

[¹] In the original we have *Montem Garilianum*, which is undoubtedly a mistake, as the *Garigliano* is a river in the kingdom of Naples, and not a mountain.

² The character and conduct of Marozia are acknowledged to have been most infamous by the unanimous testimony both of ancient and modern historians, who affirm with one voice that John XI. was the fruit of her carnal commerce with Sergius III. Eccard alone, in his *Origines Guelficæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131, has ventured to clear her from this reproach, and to assert that Sergius, before his elevation to the pontificate, was her lawful and first husband. The attempt however is highly extravagant, if not impudent, to pretend to acquit, without the least testimony or proof of her innocence, a woman who is known to have been entirely destitute of every principle of virtue.

acters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government at least was not attended with those tumults and revolutions that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from Rome the inestimable blessings of peace and concord. Upon the death of Agapet which happened in the year 956, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul, joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute beside of every quality that was requisite in order to discharge the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy pontiff assumed the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom that has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of Rome, of changing each their usual name for another upon their accession to the pontificate.

v. The fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. king of Italy, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the church and the people from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn promise, that, if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho received this embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the title of emperor of the Romans. The pontiff however soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken, and though he had sworn allegiance to the emperor as his lawful sovereign, and that in the most solemn manner, yet he broke his oath and joined with Adalbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not left unpunished. The emperor returned to Rome in the year 964; called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of many crimes; and, after having degraded him in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, he appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from Rome, John returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the

The fate of
John XII.

pontiff whom the emperor had elected, and soon after died in a miserable and violent manner. After his death the Romans chose Benedict V. bishop of Rome in opposition to Leo; but the emperor annulled this election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to Hamburgh, where he died in exile.[†]

VI. The pontiffs who governed the see of Rome from Leo VII. who died, A. D. 965, to Gerbert or Silvester ^{John XIII.} II. who was raised to the pontificate toward the ^{Benedict VII.} conclusion of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. John XIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was driven out of Rome in the beginning of his administration; but the year following, upon the emperor's return to Italy, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days, A. D. 972. His successor, Benedict VI. was not so happy; cast into prison by Crescentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of things was entirely changed by that event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of Benedict, the papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. but enjoyed his dignity only for a short time; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion, when he was de-

[†] In the account I have here given of the pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the sources which are to be found, for the most part, in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* as also Baronius, Peter de Marca, Sigonius *De Regno Italia*, with the learned annotations of Ant. Saxius, Muratori, in his *Annales Italia*, Pagi, and other writers, all of whom have had access to these sources, and to several ancient manuscripts, which have not as yet been published. The narrations I have here given, are most certainly true upon the whole. It must however be confessed, that many parts of the papal history lie yet in great obscurity, and stand much in need of farther illustration; nor will I deny that a spirit of partiality has been extremely detrimental to the history of the pontiffs, by corrupting it, and rendering it uncertain in a multitude of places.

posed from his office, expelled the city, and succeeded by Donus II.^u who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created pontiff; and during the space of nine years, ruled the church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the famous Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in Rome.

VII. His successor, John XIV. who, from the bishopric of Pavia, was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III. to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for Boniface VII. who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished Rome, returned from Constantinople, whither he had fled for refuge, and seizing the unhappy pontiff, had him thrown into prison, and afterward put to death. Thus Boniface resumed the government of the church; but his reign was also transitory, for he died about six months after his restoration.^w He was succeeded by John XV. whom some writers call John XVI. because, as they allege, there was another John, who ruled the church during the space of four months, and whom they consequently call John XV.^x Leaving it to the reader's choice to call that John, of whom we speak, the XV. or the XVI. of that name, we shall only observe, that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996; that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his being a Roman by birth, and to his descent from noble and illustrious ancestors. Certain it is, at least, that his successor Gregory V. who was a German,

^u Some writers place Donus II. before Benedict VI. See the *Tabulæ Synopticae Hist. Eccles.* of the learned Pfaff.

^w Fleury says eleven months.

^x Among these writers is the learned Pfaff, in his *Tabulæ Synopticae*, &c. But the Roman catholic writers, whom Dr. Mosheim follows with good reason, do not count among the number of the pontiffs that John who governed the church of Rome during the space of four months after the death of Boniface VII. because he was never duly invested, by consecration, with the papal dignity

and who was elected pontiff by the order of Otho III. A. D. 996, met with a quite different treatment; for Crescens, the Roman consul, drove him out of the city, and conferred his dignity upon John XVI. formerly known by the name of Philagathus. This revolution was not however permanent in its effects; for Otho III. alarmed by these disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy, A. D. 998, at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new pontiff, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had maimed and abused in a most barbarous manner, he reinstated Gregory in his former honours, and placed him anew at the head of the church. It was upon the death of this latter pontiff, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned Gerbert, or Sylvester II. whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people.^y

VIII. Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for Christ's viceregents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs increased imperceptibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned without control in these miserable times. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any pontiff without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor; which edict, as all writers unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed, that the same emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory, and its pontiff, as may be demonstrably proved from a multitude of examples. It is moreover equally certain, that the German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt the Roman pontiff might make to

The influence
and authority
of the pontiffs
increase daily.

^y The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period is not only extremely barren of interesting events, but also obscure and uncertain in many respects. In the accounts I have here given of them, I have followed principally Lud. Ant. Muratori's *Annales Italiae*, and the *Conatus Chronologico Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which the learned Papebrochius has prefixed to his *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Maii*.

assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in the church. But notwithstanding all this, the bishops of Rome found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of kings and emperors.² Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of what they called the apostolic see, in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain bishops maintained publicly, that the Roman pontiffs were not only bishops of Rome, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make;³ and that even among the French clergy, it had been affirmed by some, that *the authority of the bishops, though divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.*^b

ix. The adventurous ambition of the bishops of Rome, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with the most zealous and indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, even from the time that the descendants of Charlemagne sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained, for their tenants and their possessions, an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still farther; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the cities and territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the honours and authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon the perpetual and bitter contests concerning jurisdiction and other matters that reigned between the dukes and counts, who were governors of cities, and the bishops and abbots, who were their ghostly rulers. The latter

² Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the *Histoire du droit Eccles. Francois*, tom. i. p. 217. edit. in 8vo.

^a *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 98.

^b *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, p. 186.

therefore seizing the favourable opportunity that was offered them by the superstition of the times, used every method that might be effectual to obtain that high rank that hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. And the emperors and kings to whom they addressed their presumptuous requests, generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions and quarrels that arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the good services of the bishops, whose influence was very great upon the minds of the people. Such were the different motives that engaged princes to enlarge the authority and jurisdiction of the clergy; and hence we see from this century downward, so many bishops and abbots invested with characters, employments, and titles so foreign to their spiritual offices and functions, and clothed with the honours of dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts.^c

x. Beside the reproach of the grossest ignorance, which the Latin clergy in this century so justly deserve,^d they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even *concubinage* and *simony*, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices, it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests, and what is still more surprising, even the sanctimonious monks, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts; and entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away in a most luxurious manner, with their wives and mistresses, the revenues of the church.^e The other vice

Simony and concubinage the principal vices of the clergy.

^c The learned Louis Thomassin, in his book *De Disciplina Ecclesiæ veteri et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 89, has collected a multitude of examples to prove that the titles and prerogatives of dukes and counts were conferred upon certain prelates so early as the ninth century; nay, some bishops trace even to the eighth century the rise and first beginnings of that princely dominion which they now enjoy. But notwithstanding all this, if I be not entirely and grossly mistaken, there cannot be produced any evident and indisputable example of this princely dominion, previous to the tenth century.

^d Rotherius, speaking of the clergy of Verona, in his *Itinerarium*, which is published in the *Spicilegium* of Dacherius, tom. ii. p. 381, says, that he found many among them who could not even repeat the Apostles' Creed. His words are, "Sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere Symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum."

^e That this custom was introduced toward the commencement of this century, is manifest from the testimony of Ordericus Vitalis and other writers, and also from a

abovementioned reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church; but kings and princes, or their ministers and favourites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them without shame to the highest bidder.^f Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the church; and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into bishops and abbots. Gregory VII. endeavoured, in the following century, to put a stop to these two growing evils.

xi. While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion and decency, the Latin monks, toward the commencement of this century, had so entirely lost sight of all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of Clugni, in the province of Burgundy, upon the death of Berno, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies, which notwithstanding the air of sanctity that attended them, were in reality insignificant and trifling, and yet at the same time severe and burdensome.^g This new

The monkish discipline declines to nothing.

letter of Mantio, bishop of Chalons in Champagne, which is published by Mabillon, in his *Analecta veterum*, p. 429, edit. nov. As to the charge brought against the Italian monks, of their spending the treasures of the church upon their wives or mistresses, see Hugo, *De Monasterii Farfensis destructione*, which is published in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 278.

^f Many infamous and striking examples and proofs of simoniacal practice may be found in the work entitled *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23, 37, tom. ii. p. 173, 179. Add to this Abbonis *Apologeticum*, which is published at the end of the *Codex Canon. Pitheci*, p. 398; as also Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v.

^g See Mabillon *Annal. Benedict.* tom. iii. p. 386, and *Præf. ad Acta Sancti Ord. Benedict.* Sac. v. p. 26. See also the *Acta Sanctor. Bened.* Sac. v. p. 66, in which he speaks largely concerning Berno, the first abbot of Clugni, who laid the foundations of that order, and of Odo, p. 122, who gave it a new degree of perfection. The learned Helyot in his *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v. p. 184, has given a complete and elegant history of the order of Clugni, and the present state of that famous monastery is described by Martene, in his *Voyage Litter. de deux Benedict.* part i. p. 227.

rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and in a short time was adopted in all the European convents; for the greatest part of the ancient monasteries, which had been founded in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, received the rule of the monks of Clugni, to which also the convents newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the *order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the christian world in the following century.^h

xii. The more eminent Greek writers of this century are easily numbered; among them was Simeon, high Greek writers. treasurer of Constantinople, who, from his giving a new and more elegant style to the *Lives of the Saints*, which had been originally composed in a gross and barbarous language, was distinguished by the title of *Metaphrast*, or *Translator*.ⁱ He did not however content himself with digesting, polishing, and embellishing the saintly chronicle; but went so far as to augment it with a multitude of trifling fables drawn from the fecundity of his own imagination.

Nicon, an Armenian monk, composed a treatise *concerning the religion of the Armenians*, which is not altogether contemptible.

Some place in this century Olympiodorus and Oecumenius,^k who distinguished themselves by those compilations which were known by the name of *catenæ*, or *chains*, and of which we have had occasion to speak more than once

^h If we are not mistaken, the greatest part of ecclesiastical historians have not perceived the true meaning and force of the word *order* in its application to the *cistercian* monks, those of Clugni, and other convents. They imagine that this term signifies a new monastic institution, as if the *order of Clugni* was a new sect of monks never before heard of. But this is a great error, into which they fall by confounding the ancient meaning of that term with the sense in which it is used in modern times. The word *order*, when employed by the writers of the tenth century, signified no more at first than a certain form or rule of monastic discipline; but from this primitive signification, another and a secondary one was gradually derived. So that by the word *order* is also understood an association, or confederacy of several monasteries, subjected to the same rule of discipline under the jurisdiction and inspection of one common chief. Hence we conclude, that the *order of Clugni* was not a new sect of monks such as were the *carthusian*, *dominican*, and *franciscan orders*; but signified only, first, that new institution, or rule of discipline, which Odo had prescribed to the *benedictine* monks, who were settled at Clugni, and *afterward* that prodigious multitude of monasteries throughout Europe, which received the rule established at Clugni, and were formed by association into a sort of community, of which the abbot of Clugni was the chief.

ⁱ See Leo Allatius, *De Symeonum Scriptis*, p. 24. Jo. Bollandus, *Prof. ad Acta Sanctorum Antwerp*, § iii. p. 6.

^k For an account of Oecumenius, see Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Corsliniana*, p. 274.

in the course of this history. But it is by no means certain, that these two writers belong to the tenth century, and they are placed there only by conjecture.

It is much more probable, that the learned Suidas, author of the celebrated *Greek Lexicon*, lived in the period now before us.

Among the Arabians, no author acquired a higher reputation than Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, whose *Annals*, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant.¹

XIII. The most eminent of the Latin writers of this century was Gerbert, or Silvester II. who has already been mentioned with the applause due to his singular merit. The other writers of this age were far from being eminent in any respect.

Odo, who laid the foundations of the celebrated *order of Chugni*, left behind him several productions in which the grossest superstition reigns, and in which it is difficult to perceive the smallest marks of true genius or solid judgment.²

The learned reader will form a different opinion of Rattrich, bishop of Verona, whose works, yet extant, give evident proofs of sagacity and judgment, and breathe throughout an ardent love of virtue.³

Atto, bishop of Vercelli, composed a treatise, *De pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, i. e. concerning the sufferings and grievances of the church, which shows in their true colours the spirit and complexion of the times.⁴

Dunstan, the famous abbot of Glassenbury, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, composed in favour of the monks a book, *De Concordia Regularum*, i. e. concerning the harmony of the monastic rules.⁵

Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, acquired a considerable reputation among the Anglo Saxons established in Britain by various productions.⁶

¹ See Jo. Albert Fabricii *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, p. 179. As also Eusebii Renanodoti *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347.

² *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 229.

³ *Id. ibid.* p. 339.

⁴ *Id. ibid.* p. 281.

⁵ See the ample account that is given of this eminent prelate in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 181, 183, 184, 185, 197, 203.

⁶ We have a *Grammar and Dictionary* composed by this learned prelate; as also an Anglo Saxon translation of the *First Books of the Holy Scriptures*, *A History of the Church*, and one hundred and eighty sermons. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lviii. p. 384, edit. de Bruxelles.

Burchard, bishop of Worms, is highly esteemed among the canonists on account of his celebrated *Decreta*, which he has divided into twenty books; though a part of the merit of this collection of *canons* is due to Olbert, with whose assistance it was composed.^r

Odilo, archbishop of Lyons,^s was the author of some insipid discourses, and other productions, whose mediocrity has almost sunk them in a total oblivion.

As to the historical writers and annalists who lived in this century, their works and abilities have been already considered in their proper place.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of prevailing ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of The state of religion. Christianity were disfigured and perverted in the most wretched manner, and such as had preserved, in unskilful hands, their primitive purity, were nevertheless obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies, so that their intrinsic excellence and lustre were little attended to; all this will appear evident to those who look with the smallest degree of attention into the writers of this age. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images and departed saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any christian dare to approach the throne of God, without rendering first the saints and images propitious by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought, surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and

^r See the *Chronicon Wormatiense* in Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. ii. p. 43. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 295.

^s Odilo was abbot of Clugni, and not archbishop of Lyons, which latter eminent station he obstinately refused, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties employed both by pontiffs and emperors to engage him to accept it. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lix. p. 520, edit. de Bruxelles.

orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy; and, if the monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed, in an especial and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old wives and bare headed friars the places where the bones or carcasses of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints; while from the pains of purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The clergy therefore finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

11. The contests concerning predestination and grace, as also concerning the eucharist, that had agitated the church in the preceding century, were in this happily reduced to silence. This was owing to the mutual toleration that was practised by the

The disputes concerning predestination and the Lord's supper.

contending parties, who, as we learn from writers of undoubted credit, left it to each other's free choice to retain or to change their former opinions. Beside, the ignorance and stupidity of this degenerate age were ill suited to such deep inquiries as these contests demanded; nor was there almost any curiosity among an illiterate multitude to know the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning these and other knotty points of theology. Thus it happened, that the followers of Augustin and Pelagius flourished equally in this century; and that if there were many who maintained the corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy sacrament, there were still more who either came to no fixed determination upon this point, or declared it publicly as their opinion, that the divine Saviour was really absent from the eucharistical sacrament, and was received only by a certain inward impulse of faith, and that in a manner wholly spiritual.* This mutual

* It is certain that the Latin doctors of this century differed much in their sentiments

toleration, as it is easy to conclude from what has been already observed, must not be attributed either to the wisdom or virtue of an age, which was almost totally destitute of both. The truth of the matter is, that the divines of this century wanted both the capacity and the inclination to attack or defend any doctrine, whose refutation or defence required the smallest portion of learning or logic.

III. That the whole christian world was covered at this time with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition, is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which contributed not a little to confirm their credit. Among these opinions which dishonoured so frequently the Latin church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. This notion, which took its rise from a remarkable passage in the *Revelations of St. John*,^a and had been entertained by some doctors in the preceding century, was advanced publicly by many at this time, and spreading itself with an amazing rapidity through the European provinces, it threw them into the deepest consternation and anguish. For they imagined that St. John had clearly foretold that after a thousand years from the birth of Christ, satan was to be let loose from his prison, antichrist to come, and the destruction and

Superstition
nourished by
a multitude of
vain and idle
opinions.

about the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist; this is granted by such of the Roman catholic writers as have been ingenuous enough to sacrifice the spirit of party to the love of truth. That the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as it is commonly called, was unknown to the English in this century, has been abundantly proved from the public *Homilies*, by Rapin de Thoyras, in his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 463. It is however to be confessed, on the other hand, that this absurd doctrine was already adopted by several French and German divines. ¶ For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon English church concerning the eucharist, see Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204, 266.

¶ The passage here referred to, is in the twentieth chapter of the *Book of Revelations*, at the 2d 3d and 4th verses; "And he laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan, and bound him a thousand years; and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

conflagration of the world to follow these great and terrible events. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and their parental relations, and giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks ; and all this from a notion that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity, and the saintly tribe, by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vicegerents of heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that they were no longer of any use, since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was indeed opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people. But their attempts were ineffectual ; nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century. Then, when they saw that the so much dreaded period had passed without the arrival of any great calamity, they began to understand that St. John had not really foretold what they so much feared.*

* Almost all the donations that were made to the church during this century, carry evident marks of this groundless panic that had seized all the European nations, as the reasons of these donations are generally expressed in the following words ; *Appro-*

iv. The number of the saints who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied every where, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multiplication of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Beside, the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for, amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this, no doubt, contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or an enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontiff, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV. who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of christians.*

inquante mundi termino, &c. i. e. the end of the world being now at hand, &c. Among the many undeniable testimonies that we have from ancient records of this universal delusion, that was so profitable to the sacerdotal order, we shall confine ourselves to the quotation of one very remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of Abbo, abbot of Fleury, *adversus Arnulphum*, i. c. Arnoul, bishop of Orleans, which apology is published by the learned Francis Pithou, in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 401. The words of Abbo are as follow; "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet; cui prædicationi ex Evangeliiis, ac Apocalypsi. et libro Danielis qua potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus, sagaci animo propulsi, postquam literas a Lothariensibus accepit. quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama pæne totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annuntiatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset."

* Franc. Pagi *Brevier. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259

We must not however conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontiffs;^y for there are several examples upon record, which prove that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the church, without ever consulting the Roman pontiff, until the twelfth century.^z Then Alexander III. abrogated this privilege of the bishops and councils, and placed *canonization* in the number of the more important acts of authority,^a which the sovereign pontiff alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

v. The expositors and commentators, who attempted in this century to illustrate and explain the sacred writings, were too mean in their abilities and too unsuccessful in their undertakings to deserve almost any notice; for it is extremely uncertain whether or no the works of Olympiodorus and Oecumenius are to be considered as the productions of this age. Among the Latins, Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxerre continued the exposition of the holy scriptures, which he had begun in the preceding century; but his work is highly defective in various respects; for he takes very little pains in explaining the literal sense of the words, and employs the whole force of his fantastic genius in unfolding their pretended mystical signification, which he looked upon as infinitely more interesting than their plain and literal meaning. Beside his explications are rarely the fruit of his own genius and invention, but are, generally speaking, mere compilations from ancient commentators. As to the *moral observations of Odo upon the book of Job*,^b they are transcribed from a work of Gregory the Great, which bears the same title. We mention no more; if however any are desirous of an ample account of those who were esteemed the principal commentators in this century, they will find it in a book wrote professedly upon this subject by Notkerus Balbulus.

^y This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by Phil. Bonnanus, in his *Numismata Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. i. p. 41

^z See Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260, tom. iii. p. 30. Arn. de la Chapelle. *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105. Mabillon, *Præfat. ad Sæc. v. Benedict.* p. 63.

^a These were called the *Causæ Majores*.

^b *Marolia in Jobum*.

VI. The science of theology was absolutely abandoned in this century; nor did either the Greek or Latin church furnish any writer who attempted to explain in a regular method the doctrines of Christianity. The Greeks were contented with the works of Damascenus, and the Latins with those of Augustin and Gregory, who were now considered as the greatest doctors that had adorned the church. Some added to these the writings of venerable Bede and Rabanus Maurus. The important science of morals was still more neglected than that of theology in this wretched age, and was reduced to a certain number of dry and insipid homilies, and to the lives of the saints, which Simeon among the Greeks, and Hubald, Odo, and Stephen,^c among the Latins, had drawn up with a seducing eloquence that covered the most impertinent fictions. Such was the miserable state of morals and theology in this century; in which, as we may further observe, there did not appear any defence of the christian religion against its professed enemies.

The state of
theology and
morals in this
century.

VII. The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches were now carried on with less noise and impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence.^d

The contro-
versies between
the Greek and
Latin church-
es.

The writers therefore who affirm, that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have grossly mistaken the matter; ^e though it be indeed true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were moreover divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated^f marriages, to which violent contest the case of Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, gave rise. This emperor having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name was

^c Bishop of Liege.

^d Mich. Lequien, *Dissert. i. Damascenica de processione Spiritus Sancti*, § xiii. p. 12. Fred. Spanheim, *De perpetua dissensione Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occidental.* pars iv. § vii. p. 529, tom. ii. opp.

^e Leo Allatius, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 600.

^f Fourth marriages, our author undoubtedly means, since second and third nuptials were allowed upon certain conditions.

Zoe Carbinopsina, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicolas, the patriarch of Constantinople, suspended the emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the church. Leo, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived Nicolas of the patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that high office, who, though he readmitted the emperor to the bosom of the church, yet opposed the law which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of which declared for Nicolas, the other for Euthymius. Some time after this Leo died, and was succeeded in the empire by Alexander, who deposed Euthymius, and restored Nicolas to his eminent rank in the church. No sooner was this warm patriarch reinstated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, Constantine Porphyrogenneta, the son of Leo, called together an assembly of the clergy of Constantinople in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored.^g

Several other contests of like moment arose among the Greeks during this century; and they serve to convince us of the ignorance that prevailed among that people, and of their blind veneration and zeal for the opinions of their ancestors.

^g These facts are faithfully collected from Cedrenus, Leunclavius, *De Jure Græco Rom.* tom. i. p. 104, from Leo the Grammarian, Simeon the Treasurer, and other writers of the Byzantine history.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. In order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies under which the christian religion groaned during this superstitious age, we have only to ^{Ceremonies multiplied.} cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in England, Germany, France, and Italy. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival; a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvellous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a christian aspect, by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age. We may also attribute a considerable number of the rites and institutions, that dishonoured religion in this century, to foolish notions both concerning the Supreme Being and departed saints; for they imagined that God was like the princes and great ones of the earth, who are rendered propitious by costly presents, and are delighted with those cringing salutations, and other marks of veneration and homage, which they receive from their subjects; and they believed likewise, that departed spirits were agreeably affected with the same kind of services.

II. The famous yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of Odilo, abbot of Clugni, and added ^{Festivals.} to the Latin calendar toward the conclusion of this century.

Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that laboured under the pains and trials of *purgatory*.ⁱ This proceeding of Odilo was owing to the exhortations of a certain Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle state.^k Accordingly this festival was at first celebrated only by the *congregation of Clugni*; but having received afterward the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was, by his order, kept with particular devotion in all the Latin churches.

111. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which, before this century, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Toward the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this, was instituted what the Latins called the *lesser office*, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *rosary* and *crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the *rosary* in the thirteenth century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation.^l The *rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an

The office of
the holy Vir-
gin Mary.

Institution of
the rosary.

ⁱ See Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. part i. p. 584*, where the reader will find the *Life of Odilo*, with the decree he issued forth for the institution of this festival.

^k The late pontiff, Benedict XIV. was artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonourable origin of this anniversary festival, in his treatise *De Fæstis J. Christi Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. cap. xxii. p. 671, tom. x. oper. and by his silence he has plainly shown to the world what he thought of this absurd festival. This is not the only mark of prudence and cunning that is to be found in the works of that famous pontiff.

^l This is demonstrated by Mabillon, *Pref. ad Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 58*.

hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin ; while the *crown*, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Marias*.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

i. THE profound ignorance and stupidity, that were productive of so many evils in this century, had at least this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects and new commotions of a religious kind. But though no new inventions were broached, the ancient errors still remained. The nestorians and monophysites lived still under the Arabian government, where however they were much more rigorously treated than in former times, and were often persecuted with the utmost injustice and violence. But as some of them excelled in medical knowledge, which was highly esteemed among the Arabians, while others rendered themselves acceptable to the great, by the dexterous management of their domestic affairs, as overseers and stewards, all this contributed to diminish the violence of the storms that arose against them from time to time.

ii. The manichæans or paulicians, whose errors have been already pointed out, gathered considerable strength in Thrace under the reign of John Tzim-^{The paulicians.} isces. A great part of this sect had been transported into this province, by the order of Constantine Copronymus, so early as the seventh century, to put an end to the troubles and tumults they had excited in the east ; but a still greater number of them were left behind, especially in Syria and the adjacent countries. Hence it was that Theodore, bishop of Antioch, from a pious apprehension of the danger to which his flock lay exposed from the neighbourhood of such pernicious heretics, engaged the emperor by his ardent and importunate solicitations, to send a new colony of these manichæans from Syria to Philippi.^m

^m Jo. Zonaras *Annal.* lib. xvii. p. 209. edit Paris, p. 161, edit. Venet.

From Thrace this restless and turbulent sect passed into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, where they resided under the jurisdiction of their own pontiff, or patriarch, until the time of the council of Basil, i. e. until the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria the paulicians removed to Italy, and spreading themselves from thence through the other provinces of Europe, they became extremely troublesome to the Roman pontiffs upon many occasions.ⁿ

III. In the very last year of this century arose a certain teacher whose name was Leutard, who lived at Vertus, in the diocese of Chalons, and in a short time, drew after him a considerable number of disciples. This new doctor could not bear the superstitious worship of images; which he is said to have opposed with the utmost vehemence, and even to have broke in pieces an image of Christ, which he found in a church where he went to perform his devotions. He moreover exclaimed with the greatest warmth against paying tythes to the priests, and in several other respects showed that he was no cordial friend to the sacerdotal order. But that which showed evidently that he was a dangerous fanatic, was his affirming that in the prophecies of the Old Testament there was a manifest mixture of truth and falsehood. Gebouin, bishop of Chalons, examined the pretensions which this man made to divine inspiration, and exposed his extravagance to the view of the public, whom he had so artfully seduced; upon which he threw himself into a well, and ended his days as many fanatics have done after him.^o It is highly probable, that this upstart doctor taught many other absurd notions beside those which we have now mentioned, and that after his death, his disciples made a part of the sect that was afterward known in France under the name of the albigenses, and which is said to have adopted the manichæan errors.

IV. There were yet subsisting some remains of the sect of the arians in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the territory of Padua; but Ratherius, bishop of Verona, had a still more enormous heresy to combat in the system of the anthropomorphites, which was revived in the year 939. In the district of Vicenza, a

ⁿ It is extremely probable, as we have already had occasion to observe, that the remains of this sect are still to be found in Bulgaria.

^o All this is related by Glaber Radulphus, *Hist. lib. ii. cap. xi.*

considerable number, not only of the illiterate multitude, but also of the sacerdotal order, fell into that most absurd and extravagant notion, that the Deity was clothed with a human form, and seated, like an earthly monarch, upon a throne of gold, and that his angelic ministers were men arrayed in white garments, and furnished with wings to render them more expeditious in executing their sovereign's orders. This monstrous error will appear less astonishing, when we consider that the stupid and illiterate multitude had constantly before their eyes, in all the churches, the Supreme Being and his angels represented in pictures and images with the human figure.

The superstition of another set of blinded wretches, mentioned also by Ratherius, was yet more unaccountable and absurd than that of the anthropomorphites; for they imagined that, every Monday, mass was performed in heaven by St. Michael in the presence of God; and hence on that day they resorted in crowds to all the churches which were dedicated to that highly honoured saint.^p It is more than probable, that the avarice of the priests, who officiated in the church of St. Michael, was the real source of this extravagant fancy; and that in this, as in many other cases, a rapacious clergy took advantage of the credulity of the people, and made them believe whatever they thought would contribute to augment the opulence of the church.

^p Ratherii *Epist. Synodica* in Dacherii *Spicilegio Script. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 294. Sigbertus *Gemblac. Chronol. ad. A. 939.*

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. In the preceding century some faint notions of the christian religion, some scattered rays of that divine light which it administers to mortals, had Christianity propagated. been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude and savage spirit of these nations, together with their deplorable ignorance and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of great difficulty, and which could not be accomplished all of a sudden. The zeal however with which this important work was carried on, did much honour to the piety of the princes and governors of these unpolished countries, who united their influence with the labours of the learned men whom they had invited into their dominions, to open the eyes of their subjects upon the truth.^a In Tartary,^b and the adjacent countries, the zeal and diligence of the nestorians gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident, from a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangut;^c from

^a For an account of the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, see Romualdi *Vita in Actis Sanctior.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114, 117.

^b Tartary is taken here in its most comprehensive sense; for between the inhabitants of Tartary, properly so called, and the Calmucs, Moguls, and the inhabitants of Tangut, there is a manifest difference.

^c Marcus Paul. Venetus *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 64, lib. ii. cap. 39. Euseb. Renaudot *Antiennes Relations des Indes et de la*

which we may conclude, that in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of christians in those very countries which are at present overrun with mahometanism and idolatry. All these christians were undoubtedly nestorians, and lived under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of that sect, who resided in Chaldæa.

11. Among the European nations that lay yet grovelling in their native darkness and superstition, were the Scлавonians, the Obotriti,^d the Venedi,^e and the Prussians. whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits might have been expected. Toward the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had endeavoured to instil into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the gospel; but he perished in the fruitless attempt, and received, in the year 996, from the murdering lance of Siggo, a pagan priest, the crown of martyrdom.^f Boleslaus, king of Poland, revenged the death of this pious apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws, and of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument.^g He dragooned this savage people into the christian church; yet beside this violent method of conversion, others of a more gentle kind were certainly practised by the attendants of Boleslaus, who seconded the military arguments of their prince by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. A certain ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name

Chine, p. 420. Jos. Simon. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 502, &c. This successful propagation of the gospel, by the ministry of the nestorians in Tartary, China, and the neighbouring provinces, is a most important event, and every way worthy to employ the researches and the pen of some able writer, well acquainted with oriental history. It must indeed be acknowledged, that if this subject be important, it is also difficult on many accounts. It was attempted, however, notwithstanding its difficulty, by the most learned Theoph. Sigifred. Bayer, who had collected a great quantity of materials relative to this interesting branch of the history of Christianity, both from the works that have been published upon this subject, and from manuscripts that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious. But, unhappily for the republic of letters, the death of that excellent man interrupted his labours, and prevented him from executing a design, which was worthy of his superior abilities, and his well known zeal for the interests of religion.

^d The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of Mecklenburgh, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the Baltic from the river Pene in Pomerania to the duchy of Holstein.

^e The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the Weissell or Vistula, in what is at present called the Palatinate of Marienburg.

^f See the *Acta Sanctor. ad d. xxii. Aprilis*, p. 174.

^g Solignac *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

was Boniface, and who was one of the disciples of St. Romuald, undertook the conversion of the Prussians, and was succeeded in this pious enterprise by Bruno,^h who set out from Germany with a company of eighteen persons, who had entered with zeal into the same laudable design. These were however all barbarously massacred by the fierce and cruel Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor of the succeeding kings of Poland, could engage this rude and inflexible nation to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors.ⁱ

III. Sicily had been groaning under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century ; nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them of that rich and fertile country, The Saracens driven out of Sicily. been hitherto crowned with the desired success. But in this century the face of affairs changed entirely in that island ; for in the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in Italy, at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterward created duke of Apulia, encouraged by the exhortations of the Roman pontiff, Nicolas II. and seconded by the assistance of his brother Roger, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Saracens in Sicily ; nor did this latter sheath the victorious sword before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this great work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, count Roger not only restored to its former glory and lustre the christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished under the Saracen yoke, but also established bishoprics, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches throughout that province, and bestowed upon the clergy those immense revenues and those distinguished honours which they still enjoy.^k It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion which is still vested in the kings of Sicily, within the limits

^h Fleury differs from Dr. Mosheim in his account of Bruno, in two points. First, he maintains that Boniface and Bruno were one and the same person, and here he is manifestly in the right ; but he maintains farther, that he suffered martyrdom in Russia, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the Bruno here mentioned, from a monk of the same name, who founded the order of the carthusians.

ⁱ Ant. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. *ad Annum* 1008, p. 97. Christ. Hartknoch's *Ecclesiastical History of Prussia*, book i. ch. i. p. 12.

^k See Burigni *Histoire Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386.

of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the Sicilian monarchy; for the Roman pontiff, Urban II. is said to have granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to Roger and his successors, the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. The court of Rome affirms that this diploma is not authentic; and hence those warm contentions about the spiritual supremacy, that have arisen even in our times between the bishops of Rome and the kings of Sicily. The successors of Roger governed that island, under the title of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom.¹

iv. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Silvester II. had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in Asia, and especially for driving the mahometans out of Palestine; but the troubles in which Europe was so long involved, prevented the execution of these arduous designs. Gregory VII. the most enterprising and audacious pontiff that ever sat in the apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints which the Asiatic christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the church, and upward of fifty thousand men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition.^m But his quarrel with the emperor Henry IV. of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the holy land. The project however was renewed, toward the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of Amiens, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to the Roman pontiff, Urban II. the means of accomplishing what had been unluckily suspended. This famous hermit, in a voyage which he had made through Palestine, A. D. 1093, had observed, with inexpressible anguish, the vexations and persecutions which the christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed therefore with a holy indignation and a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effects of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of

¹ See Baronii *Liber de Monarchia Sicilia*, tom. ix. *Annal.* as also Du Pin, *Traite de la Monarchie Sicilienne*.

^m Gregorii VII. *Epist.* lib. ii. p. 3, in Harduini *Conciliis*, tom. vi. pars i. p. 1265

Symeon, patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban II. but without effect. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of a *holy war* against the infidel nations, and exhorting all christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of Palestine; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from thence to all true christians, to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burden of a mahometan yoke.^a

v. When Urban II. saw the way prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, who had put the spirits of the people every where in a ferment, and had ^{The progress of the holy war.} kindled in their breasts a vehement zeal for that holy carnage which the church had been meditating so long, he assembled a grand and numerous council at Placentia, A. D. 1095, and recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens.* This arduous enterprise was far from being approved of by the greatest part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates, who, in their master's name, represented most pathetically how necessary it was to set limits to the power of the victorious Turks, whose authority and dominion increased from day to day. The pontiff's proposal was however renewed with the same zeal, and with the desired success, some time after this, in the council assembled at Clermont, where Urban was present. The pompous and pathetic speech which he delivered upon this occasion, made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs. So that an innumerable multitude, composed of all ranks and orders in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in this sacred ex-

^a This circumstance is mentioned by the abbot Dodechinus, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti Scriptor. Germanicor.* Jo. Pistorii, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of Peter, see Du Fresne *Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*, p. 79, edit. Venet.

¶ * This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen.

pedition.⁸ This numerous host was looked upon as formidable in the highest degree, and equal to the most glorious enterprises and exploits, while in reality, it was no more than an unwieldy body without life and vigour, and was weak and contemptible in every respect. This will appear sufficiently evident, when we consider that this army was a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, and that it was principally composed of the lowest dregs of the multitude, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Every one will perceive how little either discipline, counsel, or fortitude were to be expected from such a miserable rabble. This expedition was distinguished, in the French language, by the name of a *croisade*, and all who embarked in it were called *croises*, or cross bearers; not only because the end of this holy war was to wrest the cross of Christ out of the hands of the infidels, but also on account of the consecrated cross of various colours, which every soldier wore upon his right shoulder.⁹

VI. In consequence of these grand preparations, eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies, and under different commanders, set out for Constantinople in the year 1096; that having received there both assistance and direction from Alexis Comnenius the Grecian emperor, they might pursue their march into Asia. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by Peter the Hermit, the author and fomentor of the war, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division, in their march through Hungary and Thrace, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, particularly those of Hungary and Turcomania, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who,

⁸ The history of this holy war.

⁸ Theod. Ruinart. in *Vita Urbani* II. §. cccxv. p. 224, 299, 240, 272, 274, 282, 296, tom. iii. opp. Posthum. J. Mabillon et Theod. Ruinart, Jo. Harduini, *Concilior.* tom. xi. pars ii. p. 1726. Baronius *Annal. Eccl.* tom. xi. ad A. 1095, n. xxxii. p. 648.

⁹ See Abrah. Ezovius *Continual. Annal. Baronii*, tom. xv. ad A. 1410, n. ix. p. 322, edit. Colon. L'Enfant *Histoire de Concile de Pise*, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 60. The writers who have treated of this holy war are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toto orbe exorients*, cap. xxx. p. 518.

under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies that were headed by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times,^r and by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot,^s and directed its march through Germany and Hungary. Another which was headed by Raimond, earl of Thoulouse, passed through the Slavonian territories. Robert, earl of Flanders, Robert, duke of Normandy,^t Hugo, brother to Philip I. king of France, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at Brundisi and Tarento, from whence they were transported to Durazzo, or Dyrrachium, as it was anciently called. These armies were followed by Boemond, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

VII. This army was the greatest, and in outward appearance, the most formidable that had been known in the memory of man; and though before its arrival at Constantinople, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way; yet, such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears how-

^r The benedictine monks have given an ample account of this magnanimous chief, whose character was a bright assemblage of all christian, civil, and heroic virtues, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 598.

^s The engaging and illustrious virtues of Godfrey, had drawn from all parts a prodigious number of volunteers, who were ambitious to fight under his standards. This enormous multitude perplexed however the valiant chief who on that account, divided it into several bodies, and finding in Peter the Hermit the same ambitious and military spirit that had prevailed in him before his retreat from the world, declared him the general of the first division, which was detached from the rest, and ordered to march immediately to Constantinople. By this means Godfrey got rid of the dregs of that astonishing multitude which flocked to his camp. Father Maimbourg, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, and that fabulous turn which enables him to represent it in the most favourable point of view, acknowledges frankly that the first divisions of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity, and violence of which they were not guilty. Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, tom. i. livre i. p. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. 2d ed. in 12mo.

^t Eldest son of William the Conqueror.

ever were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the streights of Galipolis, and direct their march toward Bithynia.^u

The first successful enterprise^w that was formed against the infidels, was the siege of Nice, the capital of Bithynia, which was taken in the year 1097; from thence the victorious army proceeded into Syria, and in the following year subdued Antioch, which with its fertile territory was granted, by the assembled chiefs, to Boemond, duke of Apulia. Edessa fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. The conquest of Jerusalem, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted king of Jerusalem with a unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title,^x though he governed Jerusalem with that valour, equity, and prudence, that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into Europe. He did not however enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, who assumed the title of king without the least hesitation.

¶ ^u Our author, for the sake of brevity, passes over the contests and jealousies that subsisted between the chief of the crusade and the Grecian emperor. The character of the latter is differently painted by different historians. The warm defenders of the crusade, represent him as a most perfidious prince, who, under the show of friendship and zeal, aimed at nothing less than the destruction of Godfrey's army. Others consider him as a wise, prudent politician, who, by artifice and stratagem, warded off the danger he had reason to apprehend from these formidable legions that passed through his dominions; and part of which, particularly the army commanded by Peter the Hermit, ravaged his most fruitful territories in the most barbarous manner, and pillaged and plundered even the suburbs of the capital of the empire. The truth of the matter is, that if Alexis cannot be vindicated from the charge of perfidy, the holy warriors are, on the other hand, chargeable with many acts of brutality and injustice. See Maimbourg, *Hist. des. Croisades*, livre i. et ii.

¶ ^w Before the arrival of Godfrey in Asia, the army, or rather rabble, commanded by Peter the Hermit in such a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrong headed monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by the young Soliman.

¶ ^x All the historians who write concerning this holy war, applaud the answer which Godfrey returned to the offer that was made him of a crown of gold, as a mark of his accession to the throne of Jerusalem; the answer was, that "he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the King of kings had been crowned with thorns." This answer was sublime in the eleventh century.

VIII. If we examine the motives that engaged the Roman pontiffs, and particularly Urban II. to kindle this holy war, which in its progress and issue was so detrimental to almost all the countries of Europe, we shall probably be persuaded that its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion, which prevailed in these barbarous times. It was thought inconsistent with the duty and character of christians, to suffer that land, that was blessed with the ministry, distinguished by the miracles, and consecrated by the blood of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a very important branch of true piety to visit the holy places in Palestine; which pilgrimages however were extremely dangerous, while the despotic Saracens were in possession of that country. Nor is it to be denied, that these motives of a religious kind were accompanied and rendered more effectual by an anxious apprehension of the growing power of the Turks, who had already subdued the greatest part of the Grecian empire, and might soon carry into Europe, and more particularly into Italy, their victorious arms.

The motives which engaged the bishops of Rome and the princes of Europe in this holy war.

There are, it must be confessed, several learned men who have accounted otherwise for this pious, or rather fanatical expedition. They imagine that the Roman pontiffs recommended this sacred campaign with a view to augment their own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and princes; and that these princes countenanced and encouraged it in hopes of getting rid, by that means, of their more powerful and warlike vassals and of becoming masters of their lands and possessions.^y

^y The part of this hypothesis that relates to the views of the Roman pontiffs, has been adopted as an undoubted truth, not only by many protestant historians, but also by several writers of the Roman communion. See Bened. Accoltus *De bello, Sacro in Infideles*, lib. i. p. 16. Basnage *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. period v. p. 235. Vertot *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. livre iii. p. 302, 308, livre iv. p. 428. Baillet *Histoire des demeez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*. p. 76. *Histoire du droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, tom. i. p. 296, 299. To such however as consider matters attentively, this hypothesis will appear destitute of any solid foundation. Certain it is, that the Roman pontiffs could never have either foreseen, or imagined, that so many European princes, and such prodigious multitudes of people, would take arms against the infidels, and march into Palestine; nor could they be assured beforehand, that this expedition would tend to the advancement of their opulence and authority. For all the accessions of influence and wealth which the Roman pontiffs, and the clergy in general, derived from these holy wars, were of a much later date than their first origin, and were acquired by degrees, rather by lucky hits, than by deep laid schemes; and this alone is sufficient to show, that the bishops of Rome, in forming the plan and exhorting to the prosecution of these wars, had no thoughts of

These conjectures, however plausible in appearance, are still no more than conjectures. The truth of the matter seems to be this; that the Roman pontiffs and the European princes were engaged at first in these *crusades* by a principle of superstition only; but when in process of time they learned by experience, that these holy wars contributed much to increase their opulence and to extend their authority, by sacrificing their wealthy and powerful rivals, then new motives were presented to encourage these sacred expeditions into Palestine, and ambition and avarice seconded and enforced the dictates of fanaticism and superstition.

IX. Without determining any thing concerning the justice or injustice^z of these holy wars we may boldly affirm, that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause of religion, and to the civil in-

Its unhappy consequences and the innumerable evils that attended it.

extending thereby the limits of their authority. We may add to this consideration another of no less weight in the matter before us, and that is the general opinion which prevailed at this time, both among the clergy and the people, that the conquest of Palestine would be finished in a short time, in a single campaign; that the Divine Providence would interpose in a miraculous manner to accomplish the ruin of the infidels; and that after the taking of Jerusalem the greatest part of the European princes would return home with their troops, which last circumstance was by no means favourable to the views which the pontiffs are supposed to have formed of increasing their opulence and extending their dominion. Of all the conjectures that have been entertained upon this subject, the most improbable and groundless is that which supposes that Urban II. recommended with such ardour this expedition into Palestine, with a view to weaken the power of the emperor, Henry IV. with whom he had a violent dispute concerning the investiture of bishops. They who adopt this conjecture, must be little acquainted with the history of these times; or at least they forget, that the first armies that marched into Palestine against the infidels were chiefly composed of Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were the enemies of Urban II. were, in the beginning, extremely averse to this sacred expedition. Many other considerations might be added here to illustrate this matter, which for the sake of brevity I pass in silence.

That part of the hypothesis which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, and supposes that they countenanced the holy war to get rid of their powerful vassals, is as groundless as the other which we have been now refuting. It is indeed adopted by several eminent writers, such as Vertot, *Hist. de Malthe*, livre iii. p. 309, Boulainvilliers, and others, who pretend to a superior and uncommon insight into the policy of these remote ages. The reasons however which these great men employ to support their opinion, may be all comprehended in this single argument; viz "Many kings, especially among the Franks, became more opulent and powerful by the number of their vassals, who lost their lives and fortunes in this holy war; therefore, these princes not only permitted, but warmly countenanced the prosecution of this war from selfish and ambitious principles." The weakness of this conclusion must strike every one at first sight. We are wonderfully prone to attribute both to the Roman pontiffs, and the princes of this barbarous age, much more sagacity and cunning than they really possessed; and we deduce from the events, the principles and views of the actors which is a defective and uncertain manner of reasoning. With respect to the Roman pontiffs, it appears most probable that their immense opulence and authority were acquired, rather by their improving dexterously the opportunities that were offered them, than by the schemes they formed for extending their dominion, or filling their coffers.

^z I do not pretend to decide the question concerning the lawfulness of the crusades; a question, which, when it is considered with attention and impartiality, will appear

terests of mankind, and that in Europe more especially, they were fruitful of innumerable evils and calamities, whose effects are yet perceivable in our times. The European nations were deprived of the greatest part of their inhabitants by these ill judged expeditions; immense sums of money were exported into Asia for the support of the war; and numbers of the most powerful and opulent families became either extinct, or were involved in the deepest miseries of poverty and want. It could not well be otherwise; since the heads of the most illustrious houses, either

not only extremely difficult, but also highly doubtful. It is however proper to inform the reader, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the justice of this holy war was called in question, and warmly disputed among christians. The waldenses and albigenses, who were distinguished by the name of cathari, or puritans, considered these expeditions into Palestine as absolutely unlawful. The reasons they alleged were collected and combatted by Francis Moneta, a dominican friar of the thirteenth century, in a book entitled *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. v. cap. xiii. p. 531, which was published some years ago at Rome by Richini. But neither the objections of the waldenses, nor the answers of Moneta, were at all remarkable for their weight and solidity, as will appear evidently from the following example: the former objected to the holy war the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 32. "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles." By the *Gentiles*, said they, are to be understood the Saracens. And therefore the European christians are to abstain from making war upon the Saracens, lest they give offence to the Gentiles. We shall give Moneta's answer to this argument in his own words. "We read," says he, "Gencs. xii. 7, that God said unto Abraham, Unto thy seed will I give this land. Now we (christians who dwell in Europe) are the seed of Abraham, as the apostle affirms, Galat. iii. 29. Therefore we are heirs of the promise, and the holy land is given to us by the covenant as our lawful possession. From all which it appears, that it is the duty of civil and temporal rulers to use their most zealous efforts to put us in possession of the promised land, while it is at the same time incumbent upon the church and its ministers, to exhort these rulers in the most urgent manner to the performance of their duty." A rare argument this *truly*! but let us hear him out. "The church has no design to injure or slaughter the Saracens, nor is such the intention of the christian princes engaged in this war. Yet the blood of the infidels must of necessity be shed, if they make resistance and oppose the victorious arms of the princes. The church of God therefore is entirely innocent and without reproach in this matter, and gives no offence to the Gentiles, because it does no more in reality than maintain its undoubted right." Such is the subtile reasoning of Moneta, on which it is not necessary to make any reflections.

☞ Dr. Mosheim seems too modest, nay even timorous in his manner of expressing himself concerning the justice of this holy war, which was so absurd in its principle, and so abominable in the odious circumstances that attended it. His respect perhaps for the Teutonic crosses which abound in Germany, and are the marks of an order which derives its origin from these fanatical expeditions into Palestine, may have occasioned that ambiguity and circumspection in his expressions, through which however it is easy to perceive his disapprobation of the crusades. The holy place profaned by the dominion of infidels, was the apparent pretext for this fanatical war. What holy place? Jerusalem, say the knights errant of Palestine. But they forget that Jerusalem was a city, which, by the conduct of its inhabitants and the crucifixion of Christ, was become most odious in the eye of God; that it was visibly loaded with a divine malediction, and was the miserable theatre of the most tremendous judgments and calamities that ever were inflicted upon any nation. Had the case been otherwise, we know of no right which Christianity gives its professors to seize upon the territories and invade the possessions of unbelievers. Had the Jews attempted the conquest of Palestine, they would have acted conformably with their apparent rights; because it was formerly their country; and consistently also with their religious principles; because they expected a Messiah who was to bind the kings of the Gentiles in chains, and to reduce the whole world under the Jewish yoke.

mortgaged or sold their lands and possessions in order to pay the expenses of their voyage ;^a while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses, and all their domestic concerns, and to enlist themselves, rather through wild despair than religious zeal, under the sacred banner of the cross. Hence the face of Europe was totally changed, and all things thrown into the utmost confusion. We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these holy soldiers of God and of Christ, as they were impiously called ; nor shall we enter into a detail of the new privileges and rights, to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniences.^b

x. These holy wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the christian church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of their first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs ; they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they who assumed the cross disposed of their possessions as if they were at the point of death, and this on account of the imminent and innumerable dangers they were to be

The unhappy effects considered with respect to the state of religion.

^a We find many memorable examples of this in the ancient records. Robert, duke of Normandy, mortgaged his duchy to his brother William, king of England, to defray the expenses of his voyage to Palestine. See the *Histor. Major.* of Matthew Paris, lib. i. p. 24. Odo, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. *Gallia Christiana. Benedictinorum*, tom. ii. p. 45. See, for many examples of this kind, Car. du Fresne, *Adnot. ad Joinvilli vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52. Boulainvilliers, *Sur l'origine et les droits de la Noblesse* in Molet's *Memoires de Litterature et de l'Histoire*, tom. ix. part i. p. 68. Jo. George Cramer, *De juribus et prerogativis Nobilitatis*, tom. i. p. 81, 409. From the commencement therefore of these holy wars, a vast number of estates belonging to the European nobility were either mortgaged, or totally transferred, some to kings and princes, others to priests and monks, and not a few to persons of a private condition, who, by possessing considerable sums of ready money, were enabled to make advantageous purchases.

^b Such persons as entered into these expeditions, and were distinguished by the badge of the military cross, acquired thereby certain remarkable rights, which were extremely prejudicial to the rest of their fellow citizens. Hence it happened, that when any of these holy soldiers contracted any civil obligations, or entered into conventions of sale, purchase, or any such transactions, they were previously required to renounce all privileges and immunities, which they had obtained, or might obtain in time to come by taking on the cross. See Le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.

exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival.^c They therefore, for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain, by these *pious* legacies, the favour and protection of the Deity.^d Many examples of these donations are to be found in ancient records. Such of the *holy* soldiers as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks, renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up whatever it was that had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their forefathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the church by rich and costly donations.^e

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon the state of religion, and the affairs of the christian church. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committing the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse. The monster superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new accessions of strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever, its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of saints, and tutelary patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin,^f

^c The translator has here inserted into the text, the note *r* of the original, as it is purely historical, and makes a very interesting part of the narration.

^d See Plessis *Hist. de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76, 79, 141. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 138, 139. Le Boeuf, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auvergne*, tom. ii. *Append.* p. 31. Du Fresne, *Note ad Vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52.

^e Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52.

^f The Roman catholic historians acknowledge, that during the time of the crusades, many saints, unknown to the Latins before that period, were imported into Europe from Greece and the eastern provinces, and were treated with the utmost respect and

which had hitherto been unknown in Europe, and an incredible quantity of relics, the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European churches. The armies that returned from Asia after the taking of Jerusalem, brought with them a vast number of these saintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation.⁵

the most devout veneration. Among these new patrons, there were some whose exploits, and even their existence, were called in question. Such, among others, was St. Catharine, whom Baronius and Cassander represent as having removed from Syria into Europe. See Baronius, *Ad Martyrol. Roman.* p. 728. George Cassander, *Schol. ad hymnos Ecclesiæ*, p. 278, 279, opp. Paris. 1616, fol. It is however extremely doubtful, whether or no this Catharine, who is honoured as the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

g The sacred treasures of musty relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other European nations preserved formerly with so much care, and show even in our times with such pious ostentation, are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from the Greeks and Syrians. These cunning traders in superstition, whose avarice and fraud were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics. Richard, king of England, bought, in the year 1191, from the famous Saladin, all the relics that were to be found in Jerusalem, as appears from the testimony of Matthew de Paris, *Hist. Major.* p. 133, who tells us also, p. 666, of the same work, that the dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretend to have received from Baldwin, second king of Jerusalem, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the last supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter of even father Labat, in his *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63. For an account of the prodigious quantity of relics which St. Louis brought from Palestine into France, we refer the reader to the life of that prince, composed by Joinville, and published by Du Fresne; as also to Plessis, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 120, and Lancelot, *Memoires pour la vie de l'Abbe de St. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 175. Christ's handkerchief, which is worshipped at Benzaneon, was brought there from the holy land. See Jo. Jae. Chillet, *Visontio*, part ii. p. 108, and *De Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix. p. 50. Many other examples of this miserable superstition may be seen in Anton. Matthæi *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677. Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 52, and principally Chillet's *Crisis Historica de Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix. x. p. 50, and also 59, where we find the following passage. "Sciendum est, viginti immani, et barbara Turearum persecutione, et imminente Christianæ religionis in oriente naufragio, educta e Saerariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiæ pignora . . . Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis, Saera Λιντζανα quæ vi, quo pretio, a definentibus hac illæ extorserunt."

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE greatest opposition the christians met with in this century was from the Saracens and Turks.

To the latter the Christians and Saracens were equally odious, and felt equally the fatal consequences of their increasing dominion. The Saracens, notwithstanding their bloody contests with the Turks, which gave them constant occupation, and the vigorous, though ineffectual efforts they were continually making to set limits to the power of that fierce nation, which was daily extending the bounds of its empire, persisted still in their cruelty toward their christian subjects, whom they robbed, plundered, maimed, or murdered, in the most barbarous manner, and loaded with all sorts of injuries and calamities. The Turks, on the other hand, not only reduced the Saracen dominion to very narrow bounds, but also seized upon the richest provinces of the Grecian empire, those fertile countries that lay upon the coasts of the Euxine sea, and subjected them to their yoke, while they impoverished and exhausted the rest by perpetual incursions, and by the most severe and unmerciful exactions. The Greeks were not able to oppose this impetuous torrent of prosperous ambition. Their force was weakened by intestine discords, and their treasures were exhausted to such a degree as rendered them incapable of raising new troops, or of paying the armies they had already in their service.

The sufferings of the church under the dominion and usurpations of the Saracens and Turks,

II. The Saracens in Spain opposed the progress of the gospel in a different, yet still more pernicious way.

They used all sorts of methods to allure the christians into the profession of mahometanism; alliances of marriage, advantageous contracts, flattering rewards, were employed to seduce them with too much success; for great numbers fell into these fatal snares and apostatized from the truth.^h And these allurements would have undoubtedly still continued to seduce multitudes of

^h Jo. Henr. Hottinger's *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sac.* xi. § ii. p. 452. Michael Geddes's *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, which is to be found in the *Miscellaneous Tracts of that Author*, tom. i. p. 104.

christians from the bosom of the church, had not the face of affairs been changed in Spain by the victorious arms of the kings of Arragon and Castile, and more especially Ferdinand I. for these princes, whose zeal for Christianity was equal to their military courage, defeated the Saracens, in several battles, and deprived them of a great part of their territories and possessions.ⁱ

The number of those among the Danes, Hungarians, and other European nations, who retained their prejudices in favour of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, was as yet very considerable; and they persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the neighbouring nations, and also such of their fellow citizens as had embraced the gospel. To put a stop to this barbarous persecution, christian princes exerted their zeal in a terrible manner, proclaiming capital punishment against all who persisted in the worship of the pagan deities. This dreadful severity contributed much more toward the extirpation of paganism, than the exhortations and instructions of ignorant missionaries, who were unacquainted with the true nature of the gospel, and dishonoured its pure and holy doctrines by their licentious lives, and their superstitious practices.

The Prussians, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Obotriti, and several other nations, who dwelt in the lower parts of Germany, and lay still groveling in the darkness of paganism, continued to vex the christians, who lived in their neighbourhood, by perpetual acts of hostility and violence, by frequent incursions into their territories, and by putting numbers of them to death in the most inhuman manner.^k

ⁱ For an account of these wars between the first christian kings of Spain and the Mahometans or Moors, see the Spanish histories of Jo. Mariana and Jo. Ferrera.

^k Helmoldi *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 52. Adam. *Bremens. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE declining condition of the Grecian empire was fatal to the progress of letters and philosophy. Its glory and power diminished from day to day under the insults and usurpations of the Turks and Saracens; and while the empire suffered by these attacks from without, it was consumed gradually by the internal pestilence of civil discord, by frequent seditions and conspiracies, and by those violent revolutions which shook from time to time the imperial throne, and were attended with the sudden fall and elevation of those that held the reins of government.^a So many foreign invasions, so many internal troubles, so many emperors dethroned, deprived the political body of its strength and consistence, broke in upon the public order, rendered all things precarious, and dejecting the spirits of the nation, damped the fire of genius, and discouraged the efforts of literary ambition. There were however some emperors, such as Alexius Comnenus, who seemed to cherish and encourage the drooping sciences, and whose zeal was seconded by several prelates who were willing to lend a supporting hand to the cause of letters. The controversies also that subsisted between the Greeks and Latins, obliged the former, amidst all their disadvantages, to a certain degree of application to study, and prevented them from abandoning entirely the culture of the sciences. And hence it is, that we find among the Greeks of this century some writers, at least, who have deserved well of the republic of letters.

The state of
learning a-
mong the
Greeks.

^a The sentence which begins with the words *so many foreign*, and ends with the words *literary ambition*, is added by the translator to render the connexion with what follows more evident.

II. We pass in silence the poets, rhetoricians, and philologists of this century, who were neither highly eminent, nor absolutely contemptible. Among the writers of history, Leo the *Grammarian*, John Scylizes, Cedrenus, and a few others deserve to be mentioned with a certain degree of approbation; notwithstanding the partiality with which they are chargeable, and the zeal they discover for many of the fabulous records of their nation. But the greatest ornament of the republic of letters at this time, was Michael Psellus, a man illustrious in every respect, and deeply versed in all the various kinds of erudition that were known in this age. This great man recommended warmly to his countrymen the study of philosophy, and particularly the system of Aristotle, which he embellished and illustrated in several learned and ingenious productions.^b If we turn our eyes toward the Arabians, we shall find that they still retained a high degree of zeal for the culture of the sciences; as appears evidently from the number of physicians, mathematicians, and astronomers, who flourished among them in this century.^c

III. The arts and sciences seemed, in some measure, to revive in the west among the clergy at least, and the monastic orders; they were not indeed cultivated by any other set of men, and the nobility, if we except such of them as were designed to fill certain ecclesiastical dignities, or had voluntarily devoted themselves to a religious solitude, treated all sorts of learning and erudition with indifference and contempt. The schools of learning flourished in several parts of Italy about the year 1050; and of the Italian doctors, who acquired a name by their writings or their academical lessons, several removed afterward into France, and particularly into Normandy, where they instructed the youth, who had consecrated themselves to the service of the church.^d The French also, though they acknowledge their obligations to the learned Italians who settled in their provinces, yet give us, at the same time, a considerable list of their own countrymen, who, without any foreign succours, cultivated the sciences, and contributed not a little to the advancement of letters in

^b Leo Allatius, *Diatriba De Psellis*, p. 14, edit. Fabricii.

^c Elmacini *Historia Saracen*, p. 281. Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xi.* p. 449.

^d See Muratori *Antiquitates Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 871. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 145.

this century ; they mention also several schools erected in different parts of that kingdom, which were in the highest reputation, both on account of the fame of their masters, and the multitude of disciples that resorted to them.^e And indeed it is certain beyond all contradiction, that the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated in France, which abounded with learned men, while the greatest part of Italy lay as yet covered with a thick cloud of ignorance and darkness. For Robert, king of France, son and successor of Hugh Capet, disciple of the famous Gerbert, afterward Sylvester II. and the great protector of the sciences, and friend of the learned, reigned so early as the year 1031,^f and exerted upon all occasions the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters ; nor were his generous efforts without success.^g The provinces of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and other southern parts of Italy, were indebted, for the introduction of the sciences among them, to the Normans who became their masters, and who brought with them from France the knowledge of letters to a people that sat benighted in the darkest ignorance. To the Normans also was due the restoration of letters in England. William the Conqueror, a prince of uncommon sagacity and genius, and the great Mæcenæ of his time, upon his accession to the throne of England in the year 1066, engaged by the most alluring solicitations a considerable number of learned men from Normandy, and other countries, to settle in his new dominions, and exerted his most zealous endeavours to dispel that savage ignorance, that is always a source of innumerable evils.^h The reception of Christianity had polished and civilized, in an extraordinary manner, the rugged minds of the valiant Normans ; for those fierce warriors, who, under the darkness of paganism, had manifested the utmost aversion to all branches of knowledge and every kind of instruction, distinguished themselves, after

^e *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. at the *Introduction*. Du Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. i. p. 355. Le Boeuf, *Diss. sur l'Etat des Sciences en France depuis la mort du Roi Robert*, which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Paris*, tom. ii. part i.

^f Robert died in the year 1031, after a reign of thirty five years.

^g Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 58. Du Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. i. p. 636, *et passim*.

^h See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 171. "The English," says Matthew Paris, "were so illiterate and ignorant before the time of William the Conqueror, that a man who understood the principles of grammar, was universally looked upon as a prodigy of learning."

conversion, by their ardent application to the study of religion and the pursuit of learning.

iv. This vehement desire of knowledge, that increased from day to day, and became at length the predominant passion of the politest European nations, produced many happy effects. To it, more particularly, we must attribute the considerable number of public schools that were opened in various places, and the choice of more able and eminent masters, than those who had formerly presided in the seminaries of learning. Toward the conclusion of the preceding age, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, nor were there any other masters, except the benedictine monks, to instruct the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But not long after the commencement of this century, the face of things was totally changed, and that in a manner the most advantageous to the cause of letters. In many cities of France and Italy, learned men, both among the clergy and laity, undertook the weighty and important charge of instructing the youth, and succeeded much better in this worthy undertaking than the monks had done, not only by comprehending in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the monastic doctors were acquainted with, but also by teaching in a better method, and with more perspicuity and success, many of the same branches of science, which the others had taught before them. The most eminent of these new masters were such as had either travelled into Spain with a view to study in the schools of the Saracens, which was extremely customary in this age among those that were ambitious of a distinguished reputation for wisdom and knowledge, or had improved their stock of erudition and philosophy by a diligent and attentive perusal of the writings of the Arabians, of which a great number were translated into Latin. For with these foreign succours they were enabled to teach philosophy, mathematics, physic, astronomy, and the other sciences that are connected with them, in a much more learned and solid manner than the monks, or such as had received their education from them alone. The school of Salernum, in the kingdom of Naples, was renowned above all others for the study of physic in this century, and vast numbers crowded thither from all the provinces of Europe to receive instruc-

Schools opened in several places.

tion in the art of healing; but the medical precepts which rendered the doctors of Salernum so famous, were all derived from the writings of the Arabians, or from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa.ⁱ It was also from the schools and writings of the Arabian sages, that the absurd and puerile tricks of divination, and the custom of foretelling future events from the position of the stars, the features of the face, and the lines of the hand, derived their origin. These ridiculous practices, proceeding from so respectable a source, and moreover adapted to satisfy the idle curiosity of impatient mortals, were carried on in all the European nations; and in process of time the pretended sciences of astrology and divination acquired the highest reputation and authority.

v. The *seven liberal arts*, as they were now styled, were taught in the greatest part of the schools that were erected in this century for the education of youth. The first stage of these sciences was grammar, which was followed successively by rhetoric and logic. When the disciple having learned these three branches, which were generally known by the name of *trivium*, extended his ambition farther, and was desirous of new improvement in the sciences, he was conducted slowly through the *quadrivium*^k to the very summit of literary fame. But this method of teaching, which had been received in all the western schools, was considerably changed toward the latter end of this century. For as the science of *logic*, under which *metaphysics* were in part comprehended, received new degrees of perfection from the deep meditations and the assiduous industry of certain acute thinkers, and was taught with more detail and subtilty than in former times, the greatest part of the studious youth became so enamoured of this branch of philosophy, as to abandon grammar, rhetoric, and all the other liberal arts, that they might consecrate their whole time to the discussion of logical questions, and the pursuit of metaphysical specula-

The sciences
that were
taught in
these schools.

ⁱ Muratori *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 935. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 151. Freind's *History of Physic*. It is well known, that the famous precepts of the school of Salernum, for the preservation of health, were composed in this century, at the request of the king of England.

^k The *trivium* was a term invented in the times of barbarism to express the three sciences that were first learned in the schools, viz. *grammar*, *rhetoric*, and *logic*; and the schools, in which these sciences alone were taught, were called *triviales*. The *quadrivium* comprehended the four mathematical sciences, viz. *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*.

tions. Nor was this surprising, when we consider, that according to the opinion which now prevailed in the republic of letters, a man who was well versed in *dialectics*, i. e. in logical and metaphysical knowledge, was reputed sufficiently learned, and was supposed to stand in need of no other branches of erudition.¹ Hence that contempt of languages and eloquence, of the more elegant sciences, and the finer arts, which spread its baneful influence through the Latin provinces; and hence that barbarism and pedantic sophistry that dishonoured, in succeeding ages, the republic of letters, and corrupted, in a most hideous manner the noble simplicity of true theology, and the purest systems of philosophical wisdom.

vi. The philosophy of the Latins, in this century, was absolutely confined within the circle of *dialectics*; while the other philosophical sciences were scarcely known by name.^m This *dialectic* indeed was miserably dry and barren, as long as it was drawn from no other source than the *ten categories*, falsely attributed to St. Augustin, or from the explications of the aristotelian philosophy, composed by Porphyry and Averroes.

Dialectic or logic in high repute.

¹ See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 408, 409, 511, 512. This is too likely to become the prevailing taste even in our times; but it is an ancient taste, as we may easily perceive by casting an eye upon the literary history of the eleventh century. And to confirm still farther the truth of that vulgar saying, that there is *nothing new under the sun*, we shall quote the following passage from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury, a writer of no mean abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741, edit. Lugdun. Bat. 1639. "Poetæ, Historiographi, habebantur infames, et si quis incumbere laboribus antiquorum, notabatur ut non modo asello Areadiæ tardior, sed obtusior plumbo vel lapide, omnibus erat in risum. Suis enim, aut magistri sui, quisquis incumbere inventis. Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi; nam qui illiteratus accesserat, fere non morabatur in scholis ulterius quam eo curriculo temporis, quo avium pulli plumescunt. Sed quid docebant novi doctores et qui plus somniorum, quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumserant? Eece nova fiebant omnia; innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica, contemnebatur rhetorica, et novas totius quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsius philosophiæ adytis proferebant. Solam convenientiam, sive rationem loquebantur, argumentum sonabat in ore omnium; æ ineptum nimis aut rude et a philosopho alienum, impossibile credebatur convenienter et ad rationis normam quicquam dicere aut facere, nisi convenientis et rationis mentio expressim erat inserta." Many more passages of this nature are to be found in this author.

^m We shall indeed find many, in the records of this century, honoured with the title of *philosophers*. Thus we hear of Mauegodus the Philosopher, Adalardus the Philosopher, &c. But we must not attribute to the term *philosopher*, when applied to these grammarians, the sense which it bore among the ancient Greeks and Latins, and which it still bears in our times. In the style of what we call the middle age, every man of learning, of whatever kind his erudition might be, was called a *philosopher*, and this title was also given to the interpreters of scripture, though that set of men were, generally speaking, destitute of true philosophy. See the *Chronicon Salernitanum* in Muratori, *Scriptor. rerum Italianar.* tom. ii. pars ii. cap. cxxiv. p. 265, where we are told, that in the tenth century, in which the sciences were almost totally extinguished in Italy, there were thirty-two philosophers at Benevento. We learn, however, by what follows, that these philosophers were partly grammarians, and partly persons who were more or less versed in certain liberal arts.

These however were the only guides which the schools had to follow in the beginning of this century ; nor had the public teachers either genius or courage enough to enlarge the system, or to improve upon the principles of these dictators in philosophy, whose authority was treated as infallible, and their productions, for a long time, regarded as perfect, to the great detriment of true science. But about the year 1050, the face of philosophy began to change, and the science of logic assumed a new aspect. This revolution began in France, where several of the books of Aristotle had been brought from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and it was effected by a set of men highly renowned for their abilities and genius, such as Berenger, Roscellinus, Hildebert, and after them by Gilbert de la Porre, the famous Abelard, and others. These eminent logicians, though they followed the Stagirite as their guide, took nevertheless the liberty to illustrate and model anew his philosophy, and to extend it far beyond its ancient limits.

VII. The philosophers of this age, who were most famous for their zealous and successful endeavours to improve the science of logic, and accommodate it to general use, were Lanfranc, an Italian by birth, who was abbot of St. Stephens at Caen in Normandy, and was called from thence, by William the Conqueror, to the see of Canterbury, Anselm his successor, and Odo, whose last promotion was the bishopric of Cambray. Lanfranc was so deeply versed in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician* ; and he employed with great dexterity the subtilties of logic in the controversy which was carried on between him and the learned Berenger, against whom he maintained the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. Anselm, in a very learned dialogue *De Grammatico*, throws much light upon the darkness and perplexity in which the science of logic had lain so long involved ; and among other things, investigates, with no small sagacity, the nature of *substance*, and *mode* or *quality*, in order to convey juster notions of these metaphysical entities than had been hitherto entertained.^a This great prelate, who shone with a distinguished lustre in several branches of literature both sacred and profane, was the first

^a This dialogue is to be found in the works of Anselm, published by father Gerberon, tom. i. p. 143.

of the Latin doctors who dispelled the clouds of ignorance and obscurity that hung over the important sciences of *metaphysic* and *natural theology*, as appears from two books of his composition, wherein the truths concerning the Deity, which are deducible from the mere light of nature, are enumerated and explained with a degree of sagacity which could not well be expected from a writer of this century. He was the inventor of that famous argument, vulgarly and erroneously attributed to Descartes, which demonstrates the existence of God from the idea of an infinitely perfect Being naturally implanted in the mind of man, and which is to be found, without exception, in the breast of every mortal. The solidity of this argument was indeed called in question almost as soon as it was proposed, by Gaunilo, a French monk, whose objections were answered by Anselm, in a treatise professedly written for that purpose.^o Odo, the third restorer of logic whom we mentioned above, taught that science with the greatest applause, and illustrated it in three learned productions, which have not survived the ruins of time.^p

viii. The restoration of logic was immediately followed by a vehement dispute between its restorers and patrons, concerning the *object* of that science; such was the term employed by the contending parties. This controversy, which was long agitated in the schools, was in its nature extremely trivial and unimportant; but, considered in its consequences, it became a very serious and weighty affair; since the disputants on both sides made use of their respective opinions in

Disputes among the logicians. Nominalists and realists.

^o Gaunilo's treatise is to be found in the works of Anselm, with the answer of that learned prelate. [F] As Anselm makes such a shining figure in the literary history of England, it will not be improper to add here a more ample account of his character and writings than that which is given by Dr. Mosheim. His life and manners were without reproach, though his spiritual ambition exposed him justly to censure. His works are divided into three parts. The first contains his dogmatical tracts, and begins with a discourse concerning the *Existence of God*, the *Divine Attributes*, and the *Trinity*. This discourse is called *Monologia*, because it is drawn up in the form of a soliloquy. In this first part of the works of Anselm, there are many curious researches upon subjects of a very difficult and mysterious nature, such as the *Fall of Satan*, the *Reason why God created Man*, the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and the *Manner of its Communication to Adam's Posterity*, the *Liberty of the Will*, and the *Consistency of Freedom with the Divine Prescience*. The second and third parts of the writings of this eminent prelate contain his practical and devotional performances, such as *Homilies*, *Poems*, *Prayers*, &c. and his *Letters*, which are divided into four books.

^p The titles of these three treatises are as follows: *De Sophista*, *De Complexionibus*, *De Re et Ente*. The learned Heriman, in his *Narratio restaurationis Abbatiae Sli. Martini Tornacensis*, which is published in Dacherius's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 889, speaks of Odo in the following honourable manner: "Cum Odo septem liberalium artium esset peritus, præcipue tamen in dialectica eminebat, et pro ipsa inmaxime clericorum frequentia eum expebat."

explaining the doctrines of religion, and reciprocally loaded each other with the most odious invectives and the most opprobrious accusations. In one point only they were unanimous, acknowledging that *logic* or *dialectic* had for its essential *object* the consideration of *universals* in their various relations and points of comparison, since *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, could not be the objects of a sure and immutable science. But the great question was, whether these *universals*, which came within the sphere of logical inquiries, belonged to the class of real *things* or to that of mere *denominations*. One set of these subtle disputants maintained that *universals* were undoubted *realities*, and supported their hypothesis by the authority of Plato, Boetius, and other ancient sages; the other affirmed, that they were mere *words* and outward denominations, and pleaded in behalf of their cause the respectable suffrages of Aristotle and Porphyry. The former were called realists on account of their doctrine, and the latter nominalists for the same reason. Each of the contending parties were, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, on account of the different ways in which many explained the doctrine that was the badge and characteristic of their sect.^q This controversy made a prodigious noise in all the schools throughout Europe during many succeeding ages, and produced often unhappy contentions and animosities between philosophers and divines. Some are of opinion, that it derived its origin from the disputes that were carried on between Berenger and his adversaries, concerning the eucharist; a notion which, though it be advanced without authority, is yet by no means destitute of probability, since the hypothesis of the nominalists might be very successfully employed in de-

^q The learned Brucker, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 964, gives an ample account of the sect of the nominalists, and enlarges a good deal upon the nature and circumstances of this logical contest; he also mentions the various writers, who have made this sect and its doctrine the object of their researches. Among these writers, the principal was John Salabert, presbyter in the diocese of Agen, who published at Paris, in the year 1651, in 8vo. a treatise, entitled *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*. This book, which is extremely rare, has been seen by none of the authors who have written professedly concerning the sect of the nominalists. A copy of it, taken from the manuscript in the French king's library, was communicated to me, from which it appears, that Salabert, who was certainly a very acute and ingenious logician, employed his labour rather in defending the doctrine of the nominalists, than in giving an accurate account of their sect. There are however several things to be found in his book, which are far from being generally known, even among the learned.

^r Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 443. Gerh. du Bois, *Histor. Ecclesiæ. Paris*, tom. i. p. 770.

fending the doctrine of Berenger, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

ix. The sect of the nominalists had for their chief a certain person called John, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the Sophist, which is the only circumstance we know of his history.^s His principal disciples were Robert of Paris, Roscelin of Compiègne, and Arnoul of Laon, who propagated his doctrine with industry and success, to whom we may add, with some probability, Raimbert, the master of a famous school at Lisle in Flanders, who is said, according to the quibbling humour of the times, to *have read nominal logic to his disciples, while Odo, whom we have already had occasion to mention, instructed his scholars in reality.*^t The most renowned of all the *nominal* philosophers of this age was Roscelin; and hence it is that many have considered him as the chief and founder of that sect, and that he is still considered as such by several learned men.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT DURING THIS CENTURY.

i. ALL the records of this century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the church, and in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example, their authority, and their instructions, the

The corruption of the clergy.

^s This account we have from the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Historiæ Francicæ, a Roberto rege ad mortem Philippi I.* which is published in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Historiæ Francicæ*, tom. iv. p. 90, whose words are as follows. "In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disseruit," &c. Du Boulay, *Hist. Académ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443, et 612, conjectures that this John the Sophist was the same person with John of Chartres, surnamed the *Deaf*, who was first physician to Henry I. king of France, and had acquired a high degree of renown by his genius and erudition. The same author, p. 377, tells us, that John had for his master, Giraldus of Orleans, who was an incomparable poet, and an excellent rhetorician, but he advances this without any proof. Mabillon, on the other hand, in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. lib. lxxvii. § lxxviii. p. 261, supposes that John the Nominalist was the same person who made known to Anselm the error of Roscelinus concerning the three persons in the godhead.

^t The passage in the original is "Qui dialecticam clericis suis in voce legebat, quum Odo in re discipulis legeret." See Herimannus, *Hist. restaurationis Monasterii Sti. Martini Tornacensis*, in Dacherii *Spicilegio Vetr. Script.* tom. ii. p. 889.

sacred interests of religion and virtue. The western bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition, and wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the courts of princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics.^u The inferior orders of the clergy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue, we might add of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendour, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these shocking irregularities, as the calamities under which their country groaned, imposed a restraint upon their passions, and gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary restraints, there were few examples of piety and virtue to be found among them.

11. The authority and lustre of the Latin church, or to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, arose in this century to The authority of the Roman pontiffs. their highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age, the pontiffs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously toward the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of *masters of the world*, and *popes*, i. e. *universal fathers*; they presided also everywhere in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of kings and princes. Their authority however was con-

^u See among other examples of this episcopal grandeur, that of Adalbert in *Adam. Bremens.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38, lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52, that of Gunther, in the *Lectioes Antiquæ* of Canisius, tom. iii. pars i. p. 185, and that of Manasses, in the *Museum Italicum* of Mabillon, tom. i. p. 114. Add to all these *Muratorii Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 72

fined within certain limits; for, on the one hand, it was restrained by sovereign princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion; and on the other, it was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of synods and councils.^w From the time of Leo IX. the popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils, whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorized and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth. Before Leo IX. no pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to new masters. This pontiff gave the example of such an amazing pretension to his *holy* successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in Italy, the lands and territories which they had already usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens.^x The ambition however of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, who was now seated on the throne of England, and was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the high claims of the apostolic see,^y and also by several other

^w The very learned Launoy, in his *Assertio contra Privilegium Sti. Medardi.* pars ii. cap. xxxi. opp. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 307; has given us an accurate account of the ecclesiastical laws, and of the power of the hierarchy during this century, which he collected from the letters of pope Gregory VII. from which account it appears, that Gregory, ambitious as he was, did not pretend to a supreme and despotic authority in the church.

^x See Gaufr. Mallaterra *Hist. Sicula*, lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 553, tom. v. *Scriptor Ital.* Muratorii. The translator has here incorporated the notes of the original into the text.

^y See Eadmeri *Historia nororum*, lib. i. p. 29, which is published at the end of the works of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. It is proper to observe here, that if it is true on the one hand, that William the Conqueror opposed, on many occasions, with the utmost vehemence and zeal the growing power of the Roman pontiffs, and of the aspiring bishops; it is no less certain, on the other, that to accomplish his ambitious views, he, like many other European princes, had recourse to the influence of the pontiffs upon the minds of the multitude, and thereby nourished and encouraged the pride and ambition of the court of Rome. For while he was preparing all things for his expedition into England, he sent ambassadors to pope Alexander II. "in order," as Matthew Paris says, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 2. "to have his undertaking approved and

princes. Nor did the bishops, particularly those of France and Germany, sit tamely silent under the papal yoke; many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the church; but as many, seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the pontiffs. Hence it happened, that these imperious lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, nor satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

III. The see of Rome, after the death of Silvester II. which happened in the year 1003, was filled successively by John XVII. John XVIII. and Sergius IV. none of whose pontificates were distinguished by any memorable events; it is however proper to observe, that these three popes were confirmed in the see of Rome by the approbation and authority of the emperors, under whose reign they were elected to that high dignity. Benedict VIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor Gregory to leave Rome, fled into Germany for succour, and threw himself at the feet of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his pontificate, that those famous Normans, who make such a shining figure in history, came into Italy, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. Benedict was succeeded by his brother John XIX. who ruled the church until the year 1033. The five pontiffs we have now been mentioning were not chargeable with dishonouring their high station by that licentiousness and immorality that rendered so many of their successors infamous; their lives were virtuous; at least, their conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect upon Benedict IX. a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who, in the year 1038, degraded him from his office. He

justified by apostolical authority; and the pope, having considered the claims of the contending parties, sent a *standard* to William as an omen of his approaching royalty. It is highly probable, that the Normans in Italy had made the same humble request to Leo IX. and demanded his confirmation both of the possessions they had acquired, and of those they designed to usurp. And when we consider all this, it will not appear so surprising that the popes aimed at universal empire, since they were encouraged to this by the mean submissions and servile homage of the European princes

was afterward indeed restored, by the emperor Conrad, to the papal chair; but instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, he grew still more scandalous in his life and manners, and so provoked the Roman people by his repeated crimes, that they deposed him a second time, A. D. 1044, and elected in his place, John, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of Silvester III. About three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of Benedict rose up in arms, drove Silvester out of the city, and restored the degraded pontiff to his forfeited honours, which however he did not enjoy long; for perceiving that there was no possibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, archpresbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI. Thus the church had, at the same time, two chiefs, Silvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at Sutri, by the emperor Henry III. who so ordered matters, that Benedict, Gregory, and Silvester were declared unworthy of the pontificate, and Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II.²

iv. After the death of Clement II. which happened in the year 1047, Benedict IX. though twice degraded, aimed anew at the papal dignity, and accordingly forced himself into St. Peter's chair for the third time. But the year following he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to Poppo, bishop of Brixen, known by the name of Damasus II. whom Henry II. elected pope in Germany, and sent from thence into Italy to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of Damasus, who ruled the see of Rome but three and twenty days, the same emperor, in the diet held at Worms, A. D. 1048, appointed Bruno, bishop of Toul, to succeed him in the pontificate. This prelate is known in the list of the popes by the name of Leo IX. and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious

² In this compendious account of the popes, I have followed the relations of Francis and Anthony Pagi, Papebrock, and also those of Muratori, in his *Annales Italiae*, persuaded that the learned and judicious reader will justify my treating with the utmost contempt what Baronius and others have alleged in favour of Gregory VI.

enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order. But if we deduce from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the church of Rome, and his laudable severity in correcting and punishing certain enormous vices,^a which were common among the clergy during his pontificate, there will remain little in the life and administration of this pontiff, that could give him any pretension to such a distinction. It is at least certain, that many, who industriously conceal or excuse the numerous infirmities and failings of the pontiffs, censure, with the utmost freedom, the temerity and injustice of the measures he took toward the conclusion of his days. Such, among others, was the war which he inconsiderately entered into, in the year 1053, with the Normans, whose neighbourhood he did not like, and whom he was grieved to see in the possession of Apulia. His temerity indeed was severely punished by the issue of this war, from which he derived the bitterest fruits, being taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to Benevento. Here dismal reflections upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; so that after a year's imprisonment he was sent to Rome, where he concluded his days on the 19th of April, A. D. 1054.^b

v. After the death of Leo the papal chair was filled, in the year 1055, by Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of Victor II. and after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by Stephen IX. brother to Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two pontiffs. Gerrard, bishop of Florence, who obtained the papacy, A. D. 1058, and took the name of Nicolas II. makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors.^c We pass in silence John, bishop of Veletri, who usurped the pontificate, as also the title of Benedict X. after the death of Stephen, and who

^a In several councils which he assembled in Italy, France, and Germany, he proposed rigorous laws against simony, sodomy, incestuous and adulterous marriages; the custom of carrying arms that was grown universal among the clergy; the apostacy of the monks who abandoned their habit and renounced their profession, &c.

^b See the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xix. Aprilis*, tom. iii. p. 642. *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 459. Giannone *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 52.

^c Beside the accounts given of Nicolas II. by the writers of the papal history, there is a particular and accurate history of this pontiff drawn up by the benedictine monks, in the *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 515.

was deposed with ignominy, after having possessed about nine months the dignity, to which he had no other title than what he derived from lawless violence. Nicolas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at Rome, A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontiff; this alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which arose in Rome, and the factions which divided Italy, when a new pope was to be elected. The same pontiff received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the apostolic see. By what authority Nicolas confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest.⁴ Perhaps the lordly pontiff founded this right of cession upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has been already taken notice of in the course of this history; or probably seduced by the artful and ambitious suggestions of Hildebrand, who had himself an eye upon the pontificate, and afterward filled it, in effect, under the adopted name of Gregory VII. he imagined that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman pontiff was the king of kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. It is well known that Hildebrand had a supreme ascendant in the counsels of Nicolas, and that the latter neither undertook nor executed any thing without his direction. Be that as it may, it was the feudal grant made to Guiscard by this pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of Naples, or of the two Sicilies, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman pontiffs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

vi. Before the pontificate of Nicolas II. the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the *cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. An election, in which such a confused

The privileges of the cardinals in the election of the pope.

⁴ See Muratori *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 188. Baronius *Annal.* ad A. 1060.

and jarring multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual factions, animosities, and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this artful and provident pontiff had a law passed by which the *cardinals*, as well presbyters as bishops, were empowered, upon a vacancy in the see of Rome, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter.^e Nor were the rest of the clergy, with the burgesses and people, excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and also esteemed of much weight.^f In consequence however of this new regulation, the *cardinals* acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the

^e It does not appear that Nicolas was at all solicitous about the privileges of the emperor, and his authority in the election of the bishop of Rome; for the words of the decree in all the various copies of it are to this import; “the cardinals shall first deliberate concerning the election of a pontiff, and the consent of the other clergy and of the people shall be required to confirm their choice. The pope shall be chosen out of the members that compose the church of Rome, if a proper person can be found among them; if not, he shall be elected elsewhere. All this without any prejudice to the honour of our dear son Henry, who is now king and shall be soon emperor, as we have already promised him, or to the honour of his successors on whom the apostolic see shall confer personally and successively the same high privilege.” Here we see the good pontiff taking manifestly advantage of the minority of Henry IV. to depreciate and diminish the ancient prerogatives of the imperial crown, and to magnify the authority of the papal mitre; for he declares, as a *personal right* granted by the Roman see to each emperor for himself, the privilege of confirming the pope’s election; whereas it is well known that that privilege had been vested in the emperors of Germany during many preceding ages. See Fleury, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. xiii. livre lx. p. 64, 65, Brussels edition. It is proper to observe here, that the cringing and ignoble submission of Charles the Bald, who would not accept of the title of emperor before it was conferred upon him by the Roman pontiff, occasioned, in process of time, that absurd notion that the papal consecration was requisite in order to qualify the kings of Germany to assume the title of Roman emperors, though, without that consecration, these kings had all Italy under their dominion, and exercised in every part of it various rights and prerogatives of sovereignty. Hence the kings of Germany were first styled kings of the Franks and Lombards, afterward kings of the Romans until the year 1508, when Maximilian I. changed the title of *king* into that of *emperor*.

^f The decree of Nicolas concerning the election of the Roman pontiff is to be found in many authors, and particularly in the *Concilia*. But upon comparing together several copies of this famous decree, I found them in many respects very different from each other. In some copies the decree appears abridged; in others it is long and prolix. In some it seems favourable to the rights and privileges of the Roman emperors; in others, it appears to have the contrary tendency. The most ample copy is that which we find in the *Chronicon Farfense* in Muratori’s *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. part ii. p. 645, which differs however, in various circumstances, from that which is published by Hugo Floriacensis, in his book *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, in Baluzii *Miscellaneis*, tom. iv. p. 62. Notwithstanding the diversity that there is in the copies of this famous decree, they all agree in confirming the accounts we have given of the plans and pontificate of Nicolas.

following century there was an end put to all these disputes by Alexander III. who was so lucky as to finish and complete what Nicolas had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of *cardinals* the right of electing to the apostolic see, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy from all concern in this important matter.^g

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the *cardinals*,^h and the nature of their privileges and functions. Many writersⁱ have treated this subject in an ample manner, and have shed upon it a profusion of erudition, which deserves no doubt the highest applause; but they are, generally speaking, defective in perspicuity and precision; nor do I know of any who have confined themselves to the true state of the question, and investigated, in a satisfactory manner, the true origin of the office of cardinal, and the reasons that occasioned the institution of that order of ecclesiastics. Several learned men have employed much time and labour in fixing the sense of the word *cardinal*, and in illustrating its meaning from ancient monuments and records; but however worthy of a curious philologist these researches may be, yet they contribute little or nothing to clear up the point in question, or to convey an accurate and satisfactory notion of the true origin of the college of cardinals, and the nature of that ecclesiastical dignity. It is certain that the word *cardinal*, when applied to persons or things, or more especially to the sacred order, was according to the language of the middle age, a term of dubious signification, and was susceptible of various senses. It is also well known that in former times this title was by no means peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was in use in all the Latin churches, and that not only the *secular* clergy, but also the *regular*, such as abbots,

^g See Mabillon, *Comm. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. *Musei Italici.* p. 114. Constant. Cenni *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran.* Stephani iii. p. 18. Rom. 1735, in 4to. Franc. Pagi *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 374.

^h The translator has here incorporated into the text the long and important note ^c of the original concerning the *cardinals*. The citations and references only are thrown into the notes.

ⁱ The authors who have written concerning the name, origin, and rights of the *cardinals*, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 455, 456. Casp. Sagittarius *Introd. ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* cap. xxix. p. 771, et Jo. And. Schmidius in *Supplement.* p. 644. Christ. Gryphius *Isagoge ad Historiam Sæculi xvii.* p. 430, add to these Ludov. Thomassini *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vetus et nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 115, 116, p. 616, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, whose learned dissertation *De Origine Cardinalatus* is published in his *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 156.

canons, and monks, were capable of this denomination, and were styled *cardinals*, though in different senses. But after the pontificate of Alexander III. the common use of the term *cardinal* was gradually diminished, and it was confined to such only as were immediately concerned in the election of the pope, and who had the right of suffrage in this weighty matter. So that when we inquire into the origin of the college of *cardinals* at Rome, the question is not, who they were that in the remoter periods of the church were distinguished among the Latins in general, or at Rome in particular, from the rest of the clergy, by the name of *cardinals*; nor do we inquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed; the true state of the question is this; who the persons were that Nicolas II. comprehended under the denomination of *cardinals*, when he vested in the Roman *cardinals* alone the right of electing the new pontiff, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the people. When this is known with certainty, then we shall have a just notion of the *college of cardinals* in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first *cardinals*, and those of our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of Nicolas II. which sets the matter in the clearest light. "We have thought proper to enact," says the pontiff, "that, upon the decease of the bishop of the Roman catholic or universal church, the affair of the election be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the *cardinal bishops* alone, who shall afterward call in to their council the *cardinal clerks*, and require finally the consent of the rest of the clergy and the people to their election."^k Here we see, that the pontiff divides into two classes the *cardinals* who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls *cardinal bishops*, and the other *cardinal clerks*. By the former we are manifestly to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome, whom Nicolas calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi*, an epithet which had been used

^k The passage of the edict, which we have here translated from Hugo Floriacus in Baluzii *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 62, runs thus in the original. "Constituimus ut, obitu hujus Romanæ universales Ecclesiæ Pontifice, imprimis, *Cardinales Episcopi* diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, mox sibi *Clericos Cardinales* adhibeant, cique reliquos Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant."

before by Leo I. and who had been distinguished by the title of *cardinal bishops* long before the present century. The words of Nicolas confirm this account of the matter, and place it beyond all possibility of contradiction; for he declares, that by *cardinal bishops* he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the pontiff elect; "Since the apostolic see," observes the papal legislator, "cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan,¹ the *cardinal bishops* must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontiff on the summit of apostolic exaltation and empire."^m Now it is well known, that the seven bishops of Rome, abovementioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman pontiff.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive the true nature and meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a Pontiff, the *cardinal bishops* were first to deliberate *alone* concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterward to call in the *cardinal clerks*, not only to demand their counsel, but also to join with them in the election. The word *clerk* here bears the same sense with that of *presbyter*, and it is undeniably certain, that the name of *cardinal presbyters* was given to the ministers of the eight and twenty Roman *parishes*, or principal churches. All the rest of the clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontiff, though they were allowed what is called a *negative* suffrage, and their consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it appears, that the college of electors, who chose the Roman pontiff, and who after this period were called *cardinals* in a new and unusual acceptation of that term, consisted, according to their original establishment, by Nicolas II. of only two orders, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks*, or *presbyters*.ⁿ

¹ In the consecration of a new bishop in any province the metropolitan always bore the principal part; as therefore there was no metropolitan to instal the pope, cardinal bishops performed that ceremony.

^m Such are the swelling and bombastic terms of the edict. "Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest; cardinales episcopi metropolitani vice procul dubio fungantur, qui electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provebant.

ⁿ We must therefore take care that we be not misled by the error of Osiander. Panvinus, who affirms,² that the *cardinal bishops* were not added to the college of cardi-

It is necessary to observe, before we finish this digression, that the famous decree of Nicolas could not obtain the force of a law. "It is evident," says Anselm, bishop of Lucca,^o "that the edict of Nicolas is, and always has been, without the smallest degree of weight or authority. But in affirming this, I have not the least design to cast any reflection upon the blessed memory of that pontiff, or to derogate from the applause that is due to his virtues. As a man however he was fallible, and through the weakness that is inseparable from humanity, was liable to be seduced into measures that were inconsistent with equity and justice." It is true, the prelate has here principally in view that part of the edict in which Nicolas acknowledges and confirms the right of the emperors to ratify the election of the Roman pontiff; yet what he says is undoubtedly true of the whole edict in all its parts. For the seven *palatine judges*,^p who were excluded by this decree from the important privilege they had formerly enjoyed of voting in the election to the apostolic see, complained loudly of the injury that was done them, and seconded in their complaints by the various orders of the clergy, and by the clamours of the army, the citizens, and the multitude, they declared their opposition to the execution of this edict, and gave much trouble and uneasiness to the *cardinals* who had been constituted electors by Nicolas. To appease these tumults, Alexander III, augmented the college of the electing *cardinals*, by conferring that dignity upon the prior, or archpresbyter of *St. John Lateran*, the archpresbyters of *St. Peter's* and *St. Mary Maggiore*, the abbots of *St. Paul's* and *St. Laurence without the wall*, and lastly, upon the seven *palatine judges*.^q By this dexterous stratagem the higher

nals before the pontificate of Alexander III. Nor are we to listen to the supposition of those writers, who imagine that certain *deacons* were, from the beginning, members of that college of *cardinals* by whom the popes were elected. There were indeed in the Roman church, long before the edict of Nicolas, and there still remain *cardinal deacons*, i. e. superintendants of those churches which have hospitals annexed to them, and whose revenues are appropriated to the support of the poor; but they were evidently excluded from the election of the pope, which, by the edict of Nicolas, was to be made by the *cardinal bishops and clerks* alone. Hence we find the *cardinals* plainly distinguished from the *deacons* in the diploma that was drawn up for the election of Gregory VII. to the pontificate.

^o Anselmi *Lucensis*, lib. ii. *contra Wibertum Antipapam. et sequaces ejus*, in *Canisii Lectionib. Antiquis*, tom. iii. part i. p. 383.

^p These judges were the *Primicerius*, *Secundicerius*, *Arcaarius*, *Saccellarius*, *Protoscriniarius*, *Primicerius Defensorum*, et *Administratores*; for a particular account of whose respective offices, services, and privileges, see Gravii *Thesaurus Antiq.* Du Cange, &c.

^q Cenni *Pref. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephan. iii.* p. 19. Mabillon, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman.* p. 116, ex Panvinio.

* See Mabillon, *Comment. in Ordinem Rom.* p. 115, tom. ii. *Musci Italici*.

order of the clergy was defeated, and ceased to oppose the measures of the *cardinal* electors ; nor indeed could their opposition be of any significance, since their chiefs and leaders were become members of the sacred college instituted by Nicolas. The *inferior clergy* continued yet obstinate ; but their opposition was vanquished in the same manner, and they were reduced to silence by the promotion of their chiefs, the *cardinal deacons*, to the dignity of electors. Who it was, whether Alexander III. or some other pontiff, that raised the principal Roman deacons to the rank of *cardinals*, is not certain ; but nothing is more evident than that the design of this promotion was to put an end to the murmurs and complaints of the inferior clergy, who resented highly the violation of their privileges.

When the various orders of the clergy were drawn off from the opposition, it was no difficult matter to silence the people, and to exclude them from all part in the election of the pontiff. And accordingly, when, upon the death of Alexander III. it was proposed to choose Lucius III.* as his successor, the consent and approbation of the clergy and people, which had hitherto been always esteemed necessary to ratify the election, were not so much as demanded, and the affair was transacted by the college of *cardinals* alone, who have continued to maintain that exclusive and important privilege even to our times. Some writers affirm, that Innocent II. had been elected in the same manner by the *cardinals* alone, without the consent of the clergy or the people, several years before the pontificate of Lucius ;† this may be true, but it is nothing to the purpose ; for as the election of Innocent II. was irregular, it cannot be alleged in the case before us.

VII. From what has been observed in the preceding section we may conclude, that the college of *cardinals*, and the extensive authority and important privileges they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published at the request and under the pontificate of Nicolas II. that, under the title of *cardinals*, this pontiff comprehended the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his *suffragans*, and of whom the bishop of Ostia was the chief, as also the eight and twenty ministers, who had inspection over

† In the original, instead of Lucius III. we read Victor III. which was certainly a mistake of inadvertency in the learned author.

* See Pagi *Erreor. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 615,

the principal Roman churches ; and that to these were added, in process of time, under Alexander III. and other pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who looked upon themselves as injured by the edict of Nicolas, and also to answer other purposes of ecclesiastical policy. We see also, from an attentive view of this matter, that though the high order of purpled prelates, commonly called *cardinals*, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet it does not seem to have acquired the stable and undisputed authority of a legal council before the following age and the pontificate of Alexander III.

VIII. Though Nicolas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff; his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, archdeacon, and afterward bishop of Rome, violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected to the pontificate Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II. but also solemnly installed him in that high office without so much as consulting the emperor Henry IV. or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at Basil, and in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, to be created pontiff, under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the church of Christ, which was designed to be the centre of charity and peace. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions.^c

IX. This contest indeed was of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hildebrand, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. excited both in church and state, and nourished and fomented until the end of his days.

^c Ferdin. Ughelli *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166. Jo. Jac. Mascovius, *De rebus imperii sub Henrico IV. et V. lib. i. p. 7.* Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontificum Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 55. Muratori *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214



This vehement pontiff, who was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, rose, by various steps, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church, and from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1078, and the same day that Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicolas II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince indeed had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires.^u Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence of the see of Rome,

^u The writers who have given the amplest accounts of the life and exploits of Gregory VII. are enumerated by Casp. Sagittarius, in his *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 687, and by And. Schmidius, in his *Supplement.* tom. ii. p. 627. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. v. *Maii ad d. xxv.* p. 568, and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti Sæcul.* vi. p. 406. Add to these the *Life of Gregory VII.* published at Frankfort in the year 1710, by Just. Christopher Dithmar, as also the authors who have written the history of the contests that arose between the empire and the hierarchy of Rome, and of the wars that were occasioned by the dispute concerning *Investitures.*

he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontiff went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the see of Rome. Such were the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed the activity of Gregory VII. during his whole life, and which render his pontificate a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. Were it necessary to bring any further proofs of his tyranny and arrogance, his fierce impetuosity and boundless ambition, we might appeal to those famous *sentences*, which are generally called, after him, the *dictates* of Hildebrand, and which show, in a lively manner, the spirit and character of this restless pontiff."

^w *Dictatus Hildebrandini*. By these are understood twenty-seven apophthegms, or short sentences, relating to the supreme authority of the Roman pontiffs over the universal church, and the kingdoms of the world, which are to be found in the second book of the epistles of Gregory VII. between the fifty-fifth and the fifty-sixth epistle, under the title of *Dictatus Papæ*, i. e. *Dictates of the pope*. See Harduini *Concilia*, tom. vi. part i. p. 1304, and the various writers of Ecclesiastical History. Baronius Lupus,* and other historians, who have signalized upon all occasions their vehement attachment to the Roman pontiffs, maintain that these *Dictates* were drawn up by Gregory VII. and proposed as laws in a certain council; and hence the *protestant* writers have ventured to attribute them to Hildebrand. But the learned John Launoy, Natalis Alexander, Antony† and Francis Pagi.‡ Elias Du Pin, and other authors of note, affirm in the most positive manner that these *sentences*, or *dictates*, were a downright forgery, imposed upon the world under the name of Gregory, by some perfidious impostor, who proposed thereby to flatter the Roman pontiffs in their ambitious pretensions. As a proof of this assertion, they observe, that while some of these *sentences* express indeed in a lively manner the ambitious spirit of Gregory, there are others which appear entirely opposite to the sentiments of that pontiff, as they are delivered in several parts of his *epistles*. The French writers have important reasons, which it is not necessary to mention here, for affirming that no Roman pontiff ever presumed to speak of the papal power and jurisdiction in such arrogant terms as are here put into the mouth of Gregory. It may be easily granted that these *sentences*, in their present form, are not the composition of this famous pontiff; for many of them are obscure, and they are all thrown together without the least order, method, or connexion; and it is not to be imagined, that a man of such genius as Gregory discovered, would have neglected either perspicuity or precision in describing the authority, and fixing, what he looked upon to be the rights and privileges of the bishops of Rome. But notwithstanding all this, if we consider the matter of these *sentences*, we shall be entirely persuaded that they belong originally to Hildebrand, since we find the greatest part of them repeated word for word, in several places in his *Epistles*, and since such of them as appear inconsistent with some passages in these epistles, are not so in reality, but may be easily explained in perfect

Lupus, in his *Notæ et Dissertationes in Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 164, has given us an ample commentary on the *Dictates* of Hildebrand, which he looks upon as both authentic and sacred.

† See Anton. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*.

‡ See Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 473.

x. Under the pontificate of Hildebrand, the face of the

Latin church was entirely changed, its govern-
His exploits. ment subverted, and the most important and
 valuable of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges were usurped by the greedy pontiff. It is however to be observed, that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these provinces preserved some remains of their ancient liberty and independence, in the possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

But, as we insinuated above, the views of Hildebrand were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, i. e. to the Roman pontiffs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met however with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the emperors, and also from the British and French monarchs.*

That Hildebrand laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance^s shows abundantly the arrogance of his preten-

conformity with what they are said to contradict. The most probable account of the matter seems to be this: that some mean author extracted these sentences, partly from the epistles of Gregory that are yet extant, partly from those that have perished in the ruins of time, and published them in the form in which they now appear, without judgment or method.

☞ * The long note *g* in the original, which contains the ambitious exploits of Hildebrand, is inserted in the following paragraph, except the citations, which are thrown into notes.

† See the ninth book of his epistles *Epist.* iii. the form of the oath runs thus; "Ab hac hora et deinceps fidelis ero per rectam fidem B. Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario

sions. But his conduct toward the kingdom of France is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of France, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, or, as we shall hereafter entitle him, Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute;² their demands however were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I. king of France, to whom he recommends an humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration, that both his *kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter*, i. e. his vicar the Roman pontiff, who had *the power to bind and to loose him, both in heaven and upon earth.*³ Nothing escaped the all grasping ambition of Gregory; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining, in one of his letters,^b that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the church, yet acknowledging in another,^c that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property, had been lost among other ancient records. His claims however were more respected in Spain than they had been in France; for it is proved most evidently by authentic records, that the king of Arragon, and Bernhard, count of Besaln, gave a favourable answer to the demands of Gregory, and paid him re-

Papæ Gregorio . . . et quodcunque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis; *per veram Obedientiam*, fideliter, sicut oportet Christianum, observabo. Et eo die, quando eum primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles Saucti Petri et *illius* efficiat." What is this else than a *formal oath of allegiance*?

² Epist. lib. viii. ep. xxiii. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. p. 1476. "Dicendum autem est omnibus Gallis et per veram obedientiam præcipiendum, ut unaquæque domus saltem unum denarium annuatim solvat Beato, Petro, si eum recognoscant patrem et pastorem suum more antiquo." Every one knows that the demand that was made with the form, *per veram obedientiam*, was supposed to oblige indispensably."

^a Lib. vii. epist. xx. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. p. 1468. "Maxime enitere ut B. Petrum, in ejus potestate est regnum tuum et anima tua, qui te potest in cælo et in terra ligare et absolvere, tibi facias debitorem."

^b Lib. x. ep. vii. "Regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse et soli Apostolicæ sedi ex æquo pertinere."

^c Lib. x. epist. xxviii.

gularly an annual tribute;^d and their example was followed by other Spanish princes, as we could show, were it necessary, by a variety of arguments. The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter pence*,^e and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England as a fief of the apostolic see. William granted the former, but refused the latter^f with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only, and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes,^g to Geusa, king of Hungary,^h and Sueno, or Swein, king of Denmark,ⁱ soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar at Rome, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were effectual, and his *modest* proposals were received with the utmost

^d See Petrus de Marca, *Histoire de Bearn*, lib. iv. p. 331, 332.

^e *Peter pence*, so called from its being collected on the festival of *St. Peter in Vinculis*, was an ancient tax of a penny on each house, first granted, in the year 725, by Ina, king of the West Saxons, for the establishment and support of an English college at Rome, and afterward extended, in the year 794, by Offa, over all Mercia and East Anglia. In process of time it became a standing and general tax throughout all England, and though it was for some time applied to the support of the English college according to its original design, the popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was confirmed by the laws of Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, &c. and was never totally abolished till the reign of Henry VIII.

^f The letter of William is extant in the *Miscellanea* of Baluzius, tom. vii. p. 127, as also in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the *Collection of Records*, at the end of the first volume, p. 713, No. 12. "Hubertus legatus tuus," says the resolute monarch to the audacious pontiff, "admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitare. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. *Fidelitatem facere, nolui nec volo*," &c.

^g See in Harduin's *Concilia*, his famous letter, lib. ix. epist. iii. to the bishop of Padua, exhorting him to engage Welfo, duke of Bavaria, and other German princes, to submit themselves and their dominions to the apostolic jurisdiction. "Admonere te volumus," says the pontiff, "Ducem Welfonem, ut fidelitatem B. Petro faciat. . . Illum exim totum in gremio Beati Petri collocare desideramus et ad ejus servitium specialiter provocare. Quam voluntatem si in eo, vel etiam in aliis potentibus viris amore B. Petri ductis cognoveris, ut perficiant elabora."

docility and zeal. The son of Demetrius, king of the Russians, set out for Rome in consequence of the pontiff's letter,^k in order to *obtain, as a gift from St. Peter, by the hands of Gregory, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom* which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father; and his *pious request* was readily granted by the officious pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by the same pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival.^l This bold step was injurious to the authority of the emperors of Constantinople, who, before this time, comprehended the province of Croatia within the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, the pontiff not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without the consent of the Roman pontiff.^m Many more examples might be alleged of the phrenetic ambition of Gregory, but those which have been already mentioned are sufficient to excite the indignation of every impartial reader. Had the success of that pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue; for from the time of his pontificate the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the

^h Lib. ii. ep. lxx.

ⁱ Lib. ii. ep. li.

^k Lib. ii. ep. lxxiv.

^l See Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. part i. n. 68, p. 13. Jo. Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae*, lib. ii. p. 85.

^m See Dlugossi *Histor. Polon.* tom. i. p. 295.

prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes were much diminished. It was particularly under the administration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman pontiff; a privilege of no small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

x1. The zeal and activity which Gregory employed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, met no where with such remarkable success as in Italy. His intimate familiarity with Mathilda, the daughter of Boniface, duke of Tuscany, and the most powerful and opulent princess in that country, who found by experience that neither ambition nor grace had extinguished the tender passions in the heart of Gregory, contributed much to this success; for he engaged that princess after the death of her husband, Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, and her mother Beatrix, which happened in the years 1076, and 1077, to settle all her possessions in Italy and elsewhere upon the church of Rome, and thus to appoint St. Peter and his pretended vicar the heirs of her immense treasures. This rich donation was indeed considerably invalidated by the second marriage which Matilda contracted, in the year 1089, with Welf or Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria, and that with the consent of the Roman pontiff, Urban II. She however renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she became again sole mistress of her vast possessions.ⁿ But notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontiffs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was warmly and powerfully disputed, first by the emperor, Henry V. and after-

ⁿ The life and exploits of this heroic princess, who was one of the strongest bulwarks of the Roman church against the power of the emperors, and the most tender and obedient of all the *spiritual* daughters of Gregory VII. has been written by Bened. Luchinus, Domin. Mellinus, Felix Contelorius Julius de Puteo, but more amply by Francis Maria Florent, in his *records concerning the countess Mathilda*, written in Italian, and Bened. Bachinius, in his *Historia Monasterii Podalironensis*. The famous Leibnitz, in his *Scriptores Brunsvic*, tom. i. p. 629, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italic*, tom. v. p. 335, have published, with annotations, the ancient histories of the life of Mathilda, composed by Donizo, and another writer whose name is unknown, together with the copy of the second act of cession by which that princess confirmed her former grant, to the church of Rome. We may add here, that nothing relating to this extraordinary woman is more worthy of perusal than the accounts that we find of her, and her second husband, in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444, et tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 303.

ward by several other princes; nor were the pontiffs so successful in this contest as to preserve the whole inheritance, though after various struggles and efforts, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it, which they still enjoy.*

XII. The plan that Gregory had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more insurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Stephen IX. had combated with zeal and vehemence these monstrous vices,^p but without suc-

The decrees of
Gregory VII.

* Many learned men conclude from the very act by which this *donation* was confirmed to the see of Rome, that Mathilda comprehended in this donation only her *allodial* possessions, and not the territories which she held as *fiefs of the empire*, such as the marquisate of Tuscany, and the dutchy of Spoleto. For the words of the act run thus; *Ego Mathildis . . . dedi et obtuli ecclesiæ S. Petri . . . omnia mea bona jure proprietario*, tam quæ tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive juris successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant." See the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 448. But it is much to be questioned, whether this distinction is so evident as is pretended. For the words *jure proprietario*, from which it is inferred that Mathilda disposed of only her *allodial* possessions in favour of St. Peter, do not, in my opinion, relate to the possessions of the testatrix, but to the nature of the gift, and must be interpreted in conjunction with the preceding verbs, "*dedi et obtuli*." For the princess does not say "*dedi omnia bona quæ jure proprietario possideo et habeo*," i. e. "I have granted that part of my property which I hold by a supreme and independent right," in which case the opinion of the learned men abovementioned would be well founded, but she says, "*dedi omnia bona mea ecclesiæ jure proprietario*," i. e. "my will is, that the church shall possess as its own property the inheritance I have left it." Beside, the following words manifestly show, that the opinion of these learned men is destitute of all foundation; since Mathilda could not possibly add, "*sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant*," i. e. "I grant all my possessions under whatever title I enjoy them, whether by right of succession, or by any other right," &c. had she designed to confine her donation to her *allodial* possessions. Certain it is, that in this ample grant she excepts no particular part of her property, but evidently comprehends in it her whole substance. If it be objected to this, that the Roman pontiffs never affirmed that the *fiefs of the empire*, which Mathilda possessed, were comprehended in this grant to their church, and that they only claimed her *allodial* and independent possessions; I answer, by questioning the fact, since many circumstances concur to prove, that these pontiffs claimed the whole substance of Mathilda, all her possessions without exception, as their undoubted right. But suppose for a moment that the case was otherwise, and that the Roman church had never made such an universal claim, this would by no means invalidate the opinion I here maintain; since the question under consideration, is not how far the Roman pontiffs may have moderated their pretensions to the territories of Mathilda, but what is the genuine sense of the words in which her donation is expressed.

^p *Monstrous vices* we may justly call them. For though it be true, that in the methods Gregory took to extirpate these vices, he violated not only the laws of religion, but also the dictates of natural equity and justice, and under the mask of a pious zeal, committed the most crying and abominable enormities; yet it is certain on the other hand, that these vices produced the most unhappy effects both in church and state, and that the suppression of them was now become absolutely necessary. There were indeed among the clergy several men of piety and virtue, who lived in the bonds of wedlock, and these Gregory ought to have spared. But there was also a prodigious number of ecclesiastics throughout Europe, not only of priests and canons, but also of monks, who lived in the bonds of a criminal love, kept, under the title of wives, mis-

cess, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly Gregory, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at Rome, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal orders should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, or concubines, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters wrote by the pontiff to all the European bishops, enjoining the strictest obedience to the decisions of this solemn council, under the severest penalties. Gregory did not stop here, but sent ambassadors into Germany to Henry IV. king of the Romans, in order to engage that prince to summon a coun-

tresses which they dismissed at pleasure, to enjoy the sweets of a licentious variety, and who not only spent, in the most profuse and scandalous manner, the revenues and treasures of the churches and convents to which they belonged, but even distributed a great part of them among their bastards. As to the vice of *simony*, its universal extent and its pernicious fruits appear evidently from those records, which the benedictine monks have published in several places of their *Gallia Christiana*, not to mention a multitude of other ancient papers to the same purpose. One or two examples will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of this matter. We find in the first volume of the admirable work now mentioned, in the *Append. Document.* p. 6, a public act, by which Bernard a viscount, and Froterius, bishop of Alby, grant, or rather sell openly to Bernard Aimard and his son the bishopric of Alby, reserving to themselves a considerable part of its revenues. This act is followed by another, in which count Pontius bequeaths to his wife the same bishopric of Alby in the following terms. "Ego Pontius dono tibi dilecte sponse nostre episcopatum Albiensem; eum ipsa ecclesia et eum omnia adjuvantia sua; et medietatem de episcopatu Nemauso; et medietatem de abbacia Sti. Ægidii; post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati." In the second volume of the same learned work, in the *Append. Document.* p. 173, there is a letter of the *clergy* of Limoges, beseeching William, count of Aquitaine, not to sell the bishopric, but to give them a pastor, and not a devourer of the flock. "Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale hueram vendas Sti. Stephani locum, quia si tu vendis episcopatum, ipse nostra manducabit communia. Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devorantem." Ademar, viscount of Limoges, laments, tom. ii. p. 179, that "he himself had formerly made traffic of the cure of souls by selling benefices to simoniacal abbots." The barefaced impudence of the sacerdotal orders, in buying and selling benefices, exceeded all measure, and almost all credibility. And they carried matters so far as to justify that abominable traffic, as may be seen in a remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of Abbo, which is added by Pithou, to the *Codex Can. Ecclesie Romanæ*; this passage, which deserves to be quoted, is as follows; "Nihil pene ad ecclesias pertinere videtur, quod ad pretium non largiatur, scilicet episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus, et aliqui minores gradus, archidiaconatus quoque, decania, præpositura, thesauri custodia, baptisterium; et hujusmodi negociatores subdola responsione solent astruere, non se emere benedictionem, qua percipitur, gratia spiritus sancti, sed res ecclesiarum vel possessiones episcopi." An acute distinction truly!

cil for the trial and punishment of such ecclesiastics as had been hitherto guilty of simoniacal practices.

XIII. These decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion, and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the *celibacy of the clergy* published, than the priests, in the several provinces of Europe, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines,^a complained loudly of the severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, chose rather to abandon their spiritual dignities, than their sensual pleasures, and to quit their benefices that they might cleave to their wives. They went still farther; for they separated themselves entirely from the church of Rome, and branded with the infamous name of *paterini*,^r i. e. manichæans,

The severe proceedings of the pontiff against concubinage produce much trouble.

^a All the historians who give any account of this century, mention the tumults excited by such priests as were resolved to continue with their wives or concubines. For an account of the seditions which arose in Germany upon this occasion, see Sigonius *De regno Italiae*, lib. ix. p. 557, tom. ii. as also Tenuagel's *Collectio Veler. Monument.* p. 45, 47, 54. Those that the priests excited in England are mentioned by M. Paris, in his *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 7. The tumults occasioned by the same reason in the Belgic and Gallic provinces, are described in the *Epistola Clericorum Cameracensium ad Renenses pro uxoribus suis*, published in Mabillon's *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. v. p. 634, and in the *Epistola Noriomensium Clericorum ad Cameracenses*, published in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 123. Great was the flame which the laws of Gregory excited in Italy, and particularly in the province of Milan, of which we have an ample relation given by Arnulph and Landulph, two Milanese historians, whose works are published with annotations, by Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iv. p. 36. Both these historians maintain, against Gregory and his successors, the cause of the injured priests, and the lawfulness of their marriages.

^r *Paterinus* is one of the names by which the paulicians or manichæans, who came during this century from Bulgaria into Italy, and were also known by the title of *cathari* or *pure*, were distinguished among the Italians. But in process of time the term *paterinus* became a common name for all kinds of heretics, as we might show by many examples taken from the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are various opinions concerning the origin of this word, the most probable of which is that which supposes it derived from a certain place called Pataria, in which the heretics held their assemblies; and it is well known that a part of the city of Milan is, to this very day, called Pataria, or Contrada de Patarri. See *Annot. ad Arnulphum Mediolanensis* in Muratori's *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 39; see also Saxius ad Sigonium

the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly the conduct of such priests as entered into the bonds of a lawful and virtuous wedlock. The proceedings of Gregory appeared to the wiser part, even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust and criminal in two respects ; first, in that his severity fell indiscriminately and with equal fury upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want.^s The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontiff was, that instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished as disobedient and unworthy subjects, with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of undeserved infamy and disgrace.^t

de Regno Italiae, lib. ix. p. 536, tom. ii. opp. Sigonii. An opinion, of which, if I am not mistaken, Sigonius was the author, prevailed, that the name in question was given to the Milanese priests, who separated from the church of Rome, and retained their wives in opposition to the laws of the pontiffs. But this opinion is without foundation ; and it appears evidently from the testimony of Arnulph and other historians, that it was not the married priests, but the faction of the pontiffs, who condemned their conjugal bonds, that were branded with the opprobrious name of *paterini*. See Arnulph, lib. iii. c. x. Anton. Pagi *Crit. in Ann. Bar.* t. iii. ad A. 1057, § iii. Lud. Ant. Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 82, who have demonstrated this in the most ample, learned, and satisfactory manner. Nor need we indeed look any where else for the origin of this word. It is abundantly known that the manichæans, and their brethren the paulicians, were extremely averse to marriage, which they looked upon as an institution invented by the *civil principle* ; they of consequence who considered the marriages of the clergy as lawful, employed the ignominious name of *paterini*, to show that the pontiffs, who prohibited these marriages, were followers of the odious doctrine of the manichæans.

^s We must always remember that the priests, to whom their wives or mistresses were much dearer than the laws of the pontiffs, were not all of the same character ; nor were such of them as might be justly esteemed criminal, all criminal in the same degree. The better sort of these ecclesiastics, among which we may count the Belgic and Milanese clergy, desired nothing more than to live after the manner of the Greeks, maintaining that it was lawful for a priest, before his consecration, to marry one virgin, though a plurality of wives was justly prohibited ; and they grounded this their opinion upon the authority of St. Ambrose. See Jo. Petri Puricelli *Dissertatio utrum S. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolan. permisit, ut virgini semel nubere possent*, republished by Muratori, in his *Scriptores Italic.* tom. iv. p. 123. Gregory and his successors ought to have dealt more gently with this kind of ecclesiastics, as the warmest admirers of the pontiffs acknowledge, than with those priests, who were either the patrons of concubinage, or who pretended to justify their espousing a plurality of wives. It was also unjust to treat, in the same manner, the monks, who, by the nature of their profession and vows, were necessarily excluded from the nuptial state ; and the priests who could not bear the thoughts of being torn from the chaste partners of their bed, whom they had espoused with virtuous sentiments and upright intentions, nor from the tender offspring which were the fruit of virtuous love.

^t Theodoricus, *Verdm. Epistola ad Gregorium VII. in Martene Thesaur. Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 218. "Fnciem meam in eo vel maxime confusione perfundunt, quod legem de Clericorum incontinentia per Laicorum Insanias cohibenda unquam suscep-

XIV. This vehement contest excited great tumults and divisions, which however were gradually calmed through length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate pontiff; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony*, were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress.^u Henry IV. received indeed graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony*; but neither this prince, nor the German bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those, who in time past had been chargeable with simonical practices. The pontiff, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at Rome in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous pro-

The dispute concerning investitures occasioned by the laws against simony.

rim. Nec putetis eos qui ita sentiunt . . . ecclesiasticorum graduum incontinentiam talibus defensionibus fovere velle. Honestam conversationem in desiderio habent, nec aliter, quam oportet, ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram intentari gaudent."

^u We have extant a great number both of ancient and modern writers, who have related the circumstances of this dispute concerning *investitures*, which was begun by Gregory VII. was carried on by him and his successors on the one side, and the emperors, Henry IV. and V. on the other, and became a source of innumerable calamities to the greatest part of Europe. But few or none of these writers have treated this weighty subject with an entire impartiality. They all plead either the cause of the pontiffs or that of the emperors, and decide the controversy, not by the laws then in being, which ought, no doubt, to be principally consulted, nor by the opinions that generally prevailed at the time of this contest, but by laws of their own invention, and by the opinions of modern times. The famous Gretser, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which is published in the sixth volume of his works, and also separately, has collected the principal of the ancient writers who maintained the cause of the pontiff; in opposition to whom, they who defended the cause of Henry IV. are collected by Melchior Goldastus, in his *Replicatio contra Gretserum et Apologia pro Henrico IV.* Hanov. 1611, 4to. Among the modern writers who have treated this subject, we may count the *Centuriales Magdeburgenses*, Baronius, the German and Italian historians, and those who have wrote the life of the famous Mathilda. But beside these, it will be highly proper to consult Jo. Schilterus, *De libertate Ecclesiæ Germanicæ*, lib. iv. p. 481. Christ. Thomasius, *Historia contentiois inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*. Hen. Meibomius, *Lib. de jure Investituræ Episcopalis*, tom. iii. *Scriptorum rer. Germanicar.* Just. Chr. Dithmarus *Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, published at Frankfurt, in 1741, in 8vo. and above all, the famous cardinal Noris, who far surpasses in point of erudition those whom we have mentioned, and whose *Istoria delle Investiture, della dignità Ecclesiastiche*, which was published at Mantua, after his death, in the year 1741, is a most learned work, though it be imperfect and probably maimed, and also extremely partial in favour of the pontiffs; which is not surprising from the pen of a cardinal. See also Jo. Jac. Mascovii *Commentarii de rebus imperii Germanici sub Henrico IV. et V.* published at Leipsick, in 4to. in the year 1749

ject with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever ; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church, several German and Italian bishops, and certain favourites of Henry, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed.*" This decree was every way proper to surprise the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe, who in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crosier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt commerce called *simony*, in consequence of which, ecclesiastical promotion was suddenly sold to the highest bidder ; and hence the zeal and ardour of Gregory to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate *simony* on the one hand, and diminish the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other.

A SHORT DIGRESSION CONCERNING INVESTITURES.*

It will not be improper to cast some illustrations upon the custom now mentioned, of investing bishops and abbots in their respective dignities by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crosier*, since this custom has been ill understood by some, and but imperfectly explained by others. Even the learned cardinal Noris appears highly defective here ; for though, in his *History of Investitures*,^y there are many pertinent reflections upon the reasons which engaged Gregory to prohibit *investitures* altogether, yet that learned prelate does not seem to have had a complete notion of this important matter, since he omits in his history certain points that are necessary to the understanding it thoroughly.

^w Ant. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. ad A. 1075. Hen. Noris, *Hist. Investitarum*, p. 39. Christ. Lupus, *Scholia et Dissertation. ad Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 39-44.

¶ * Here the translator has transposed the notes of the original into text, under the form of a dissertation

^y Chap. iii. p. 56.

The *investiture* of bishops and abbots commenced, undoubtedly, at that period of time when the European emperors, kings, and princes made grants to the clergy of certain territories, lands, forests, castles, &c. According to the laws of those times, laws which still remain in force, none were considered as lawful possessors of the lands or tenements which they derived from the emperors or other princes, before they repaired to court, took the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns as the supreme proprietors, and received from their hands a solemn mark by which the property of their respective grants was transferred to them. Such was the manner in which the nobility, and those who had distinguished themselves by military exploits, were confirmed in the possessions which they owed to the liberality of their sovereigns. But the custom of *investing* the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and the *crozier*, which are the ensigns of the sacred function, is of a much more recent date, and was then first introduced, when the European emperors and princes, annulling the elections that were made in the church according to the ecclesiastical laws that had been from the earliest times established for that purpose, assumed to themselves the power of conferring on whom they pleased the bishoprics and abbeys; that became vacant in their dominions, nay, even of selling them to the highest bidder. This power then, being once usurped by the kings and princes of Europe, they at first confirmed the bishops and abbots in their dignities and possessions, with the same forms and ceremonies that were used in investing the counts, knights, and others, in their feudal tenures, even by written contracts, and the ceremony of presenting them with a wand or bough.² And this custom of *investing* the *clergy* and the *laity* with the same ceremonies would have undoubtedly continued, had not the *clergy* to whom the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged, eluded artfully the

² This appears from a passage in cardinal Humbert's third book, *Adversus Simoniacos*, which was composed before Gregory had set on foot the dispute concerning *investitures*, and which is published in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 787. The passage is as follows; "Potestas secularis primo ambitionis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionum cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis; in quibus omnibus cernens sibi contradictorem neminem, nec qui moveret pennam, vel aperiret os et ganniret, ad majora progreditur, et jam sub nomine investituræ dare primo tabellas vel qualescumque porrigere virgulas, dein Baculos. Quod maximum nefas sic inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur, nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur."

usurpation of the emperors and other princes by the following stratagem. When a bishop or abbot died, [they who looked upon themselves as authorized to fill up the vacancy, elected immediately some one of their order in the place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The consecration being thus performed, the prince who had proposed to himself the profit of selling the vacant benefice, or the pleasure of conferring it upon some of his favourites, was obliged to desist from his purpose, and to consent to the election, which the ceremony of consecration rendered irrevocable. Many examples of the success of this stratagem, which was practised both in chapters and monasteries, and which disappointed the liberality or avarice of several princes, might here be alleged; they abound in the records of the tenth century, to which we refer the curious reader. No sooner did the emperors and princes perceive this artful management, than they turned their attention to the properest means of rendering it ineffectual, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose they ordered, that as soon as a bishop expired, his *ring* and *crozier* should be transmitted to the prince, to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. For it was by the solemn delivery of the *ring* and *crozier* of the deceased to the new bishop that his election was irrevocably confirmed, and this ceremony was an essential part of his *consecration*; so that when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the clergy could not *consecrate* the person whom their suffrages had appointed to fill the vacancy. Thus their stratagem was defeated, as every election that was not confirmed by the ceremony of consecration might be lawfully annulled and rejected; nor was the bishop qualified to exercise any of the episcopal functions before the performance of that important ceremony. As soon therefore as a bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the governor of the province, seized upon his *ring* and

* We see this fact confirmed in the following passage in Ebbo's *Life of Otto, bishop of Bamberg*, lib. i. § 8, 9, in *Actis Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 426. "Nec multo post annulus cum virga pastorali Bremensis episcopi ad aulam regiam translata est. Eo siquidem tempore ecclesia liberam electionem non habebant . . . sed cum quilibet antistes viam universæ carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanei civitatis illius annulum et virgam pastorem ad Palatium transmittabant, sicque regia auctoritate, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbatæ plebi idoneum constituebat præsulē . . . Post paucos vero dies rursus annulus et virga pastoralis Bambergensis episcopi Domino

crozier, and sent them to court.^a The emperor or prince conferred the vacant see upon the person whom he had chosen by delivering to him these two badges of the episcopal office, after which the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, repaired to his metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony of consecration, and delivered to him the *ring* and *crozier* which he had received from his prince, that he might receive it again from his hands, and be thus doubly confirmed in his sacred function. It appears therefore from this account, that each new bishop and abbot received twice the *ring* and the *crozier*; once from the hands of the sovereign, and once from those of the metropolitan bishop, by whom they were consecrated.^b

It is highly uncertain by what prince this custom of creating the bishops by the ceremonies of the *ring* and *crozier* was first introduced. If we may believe Adam of Bremen,^c this privilege was exercised by Lewis the Meek, who, in the ninth century, granted to the new bishops the use and possession of the episcopal revenues, and confirmed this grant by the ceremony now under consideration. But the accuracy of this historian is liable to suspicion; and it is extremely probable that he attributed to the transactions of ancient times, the same form that accompanied similar transactions in the eleventh century in which he lived. For it is certain, that in the ninth century the greatest part of the European princes made no opposition to the right of electing the bishops, which was both claimed and exercised by the clergy and the people, and of consequence, there was then no occasion for the investiture mentioned by Adam of Bremen.^d We therefore choose to adopt the supposition of cardinal Humbert,^e who places

imperatorī transmissa est. Quo audito, multi nobiles; ad anulum regiam confluebant, qui alteram harum prece vel pretio sibi comparare tentabant."

^b This appears from a variety of ancient records. See particularly Humbert, lib. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vi. in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom. v. p. 779, in which we find the following passage. "Sic encœniatus," i. e. the bishops invested by the emperor, "violenter invadit clerum, plebem et ordinem prius dominaturas, quam ab eis cognoscatur, quæatur, petatur. Sic metropolitanum aggreditur, non ab eo judicandus, sed ipsum judicatorius. Quid enim sibi jam pertinet aut prodest baculum et annulum, quos portat reddere? Numquid quia laica persona dati sunt? Cur redditur quod habetur, nisi ut aut denuo res ecclesiastica sub hac specie jussionis vel donationis vendatur, aut certe ut presumptio laicæ ordinationis palliatur colore et velamento quodam disciplinæ clericalis?"

^c In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 10, xxxix. p. 12, published in the *Scriptores Septentrionales* of Lindenbrogius.

^d Add to this the refutation of Adam of Bremen, by Daniel Papebroch, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Febr. p. 557.

^e Humbert, lib. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vii. p. 780, et cap. xi. p. 787.

the commencement of the custom now under consideration in the reign of Otho the Great; for though this opinion has not the approbation of Lewis Thomassin and Natalis Alexander, yet these learned men, in their deep researches into the origin of investitures,^f have advanced nothing sufficient to prove it erroneous. We learn also from Humbert,^g that the emperor, Henry III. the son of Conrad II. was desirous of abrogating these *investitures*, though a variety of circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of his design; but he represents Henry I. king of France in a different point of light, as a turbulent prince, who turned all things into confusion, and indulged himself beyond all measure in simoniacal practices, and loads him, of consequence, with the bitterest invectives.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots, by presenting to them the *ring* and *crozier*, there were two things that gave particular offence to the Roman pontiffs. The first was, that by this the ancient right of election was totally changed, and the power of choosing the rulers of the church was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign princes, and was confined to them alone. This indeed was the most plausible reason of complaint, when we consider the religious notions of these times, which were by no means favourable to the conduct of the emperors in this matter. Another circumstance that grievously distressed the pretended vicars of St. Peter was, to see the *ring* and *crozier*, the venerable badges of spiritual authority and ghostly distinction, delivered to the bishop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified laymen; an abuse this, which they looked upon as little better than sacrilege. Humbert, who, as we have already observed, wrote his book against simony before the contest between the emperor and Gregory had commenced, complains^h heavily of this supposed profanation, and shudders to think that that *staff* which denotes the ghostly shepherd, and that *ring*

^f See Ludov. Thomassini *Disciplina Eccles. circa Benef.* tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 434, and Natal Alexander, *Select. Histor. Eccl. Capit. Sac.* xi. xii. Diss. iv. p. 725.
^g L. c. cap. vii. p. 780.

^h See Humbert, lib. iii. *contra Simoniac.* cap. vi. p. 779, 795. His words are; "Quid ad laicas pertinet personas sacramenta ecclesiastica et pontificalem seu pastorem gratiam distribuere, camyros scilicet baculos et annulos, quibus præcipue perficitur, militat et innititur tota episcopalis consecratio? Equidem camyris baculis; designatur, quæ eis committitur cura pastoralis. Porro annulus signaculum secretorum cælestium indicat, præmonens prædicatores, ut secretam Dei sapientiam cum apostolo dissignent. Quicunque ergo his duobus aliquem initiant, procul dubio omnem pastorem auctoritatem hoc præsumendo sibi vendicant."

which seals the mysteries of heaven,ⁱ deposited in the bosoms of the episcopal order, should be polluted by the unhallowed touch of a civil magistrate; and that emperors and princes, by presenting them to their favourites, should thereby usurp the prerogatives of the church, and exercise the pastoral authority and power. This complaint was entirely consistent, as we have already observed, with the opinions of the times in which it was made; for as the *ring* and the *crozier* were generally esteemed the marks and badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to confer and communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive what it was that rendered Gregory VII. so averse to the pretensions of the emperors, and so zealous in depriving them of the privilege they had assumed of investing the bishops with the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*. In the first council which he assembled at Rome, he made no attempt indeed against *investitures*, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of *simony*, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of electing their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterward came to know that the affair of *investitures* was inseparably connected with the pretensions of the emperors, and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he was then persuaded that *simony* could not be extirpated as long as *investitures* were in being; and therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of *investitures* with the utmost vehemence. All this shows the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontiff and the emperor with such bitterness and fury.

And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause, it will be proper to observe, that it was not *investitures*, considered in themselves, that Gregory opposed with such keenness and obstinacy, but that particular kind of *investitures* which were in use at this time. He did not pretend to hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors, nor even to become their *vassals*; and

ⁱ Humbert mistook the spiritual signification of this holy *ring*, which was the emblem of a nuptial bond between the bishop and his see.

so far was he from prohibiting that kind of investiture that was performed by a verbal declaration, or a written deed, that on the contrary, he allowed the kings of England and France to *invest* in this manner, and probably consented to the use of *sceptre* in this ceremony, as did also after him Callixtus II. But he could not bear the ceremony of *investiture* that was performed with the ensigns of the sacerdotal order, much less could he endure the performance of the ceremony before the solemn rite of consecration; but what rendered *investitures* most odious to this pontiff was their destroying entirely the free elections of bishops and abbots. It is now time to resume the thread of our history.

xv. The severe law that had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and authority of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. History of the war that was kindled about investitures. He acknowledged indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale, he had done amiss, and he promised amendment in that respect; but he remained inflexible against all attempts that were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture*, which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had this emperor been seconded by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success; but this was far from being the case; a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of Saxony, were the secret, or declared enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the imperious pontiff took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the emperor at Goslar, ordering him to repair immediately to Rome, and clear himself, before the council that was to be assembled there, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with the warmest indignation at the view of that insolent mandate, and in the vehemence of his just resentment, assembled without delay a council of the German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was

declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory opposed violence to violence; for no sooner had he received, by the letters and ambassadors of Henry, an account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of that prince, excluded him both from the communion of the church, and from the throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. Thus war was declared on both sides; and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the pontiff. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

xvi. At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission,^k followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor, in case Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the church, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations was far from being favourable to the emperor; for they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at Augsburg the year following, and that, in the mean time, Henry should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When things were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate prince, grew more formi-

^k This same Rodolph had, the year before this revolt, vanquished the Saxons, and obliged them to submit to the emperor. Beside the Swabian and Saxon chiefs, the dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, the bishops of Wurtzbourg and Worms, and several other eminent personages, were concerned in this revolt.

dable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without however obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived, in the month of February 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the *sanctimonious* pontiff resided at that time with the young Mathilda, countess of Tuscany, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most *tender* and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory. Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woolen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him at the same time to assume, during this interval, the title of king, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who threatened Henry with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would undoubtedly have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious pontiff, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at Forcheim in the month of March, A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his place.¹

xvii. This rash step kindled a terrible flame in Germany

¹ The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of all these events, though not all with the same fidelity and accuracy. In the brief account I have given of these events, I have followed the genuine sources, and those writers whose testimonies are the most respectable and sure, such as Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascovius, Noris, &c. who, though they differ in some minute circumstances, are yet agreed in those matters that are of the most importance

and Italy, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in the calamities of war. In Italy, the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant Mathilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while the unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph and the confederate princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality; but encouraged by the battle of Fladenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished prince, and sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at Mentz, and in a synod that was soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tirol, he raised to the pontificate, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. when he was consecrated at Rome, A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

xviii. This election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of Henry; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river Elster, where Rodolph received a mortal wound of which he died at Mersberg. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy the following year, 1081 with a design, to crush Gregory and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in Germany. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops of Mathilda; and after having raised twice the siege of Rome, he resumed a third time that bold enterprise, and became, at length, master of the greatest part of that city, in the year 1084. The first step that Henry took after this success was to place Guibert in the papal chair, after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid

close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy, Gregory, had fled for safety. He was however forced to raise this siege by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but not thinking him safe there conducted him afterward to Salerno. In this place the famous pontiff ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left Europe involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed with a most enterprising genius, and an invincible firmness of mind; but it must at the same time be acknowledged, that he was the most arrogant and audacious pontiff that had hitherto sat in the papal chair. The Roman church worships him as a saint, though it is certain that he was never placed in that order by a regular canonization. Paul V. about the beginning of the seventeenth century, appointed the twenty-fifth day of May, as a festival sacred to the memory of this pretended saint;^m but the emperors of Germany, the kings of France, and other European princes, have always opposed the celebration of this festival, and have thus effectually prevented its becoming universal. In our times, Benedict XIII. zealous to secure to Gregory the saintly honours, occasioned a contest, whose issue was by no means favourable to his superstitious views.ⁿ

xix. The death of Gregory neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited still continued, and they were augmented from day to day by the same passions to which they owed their origin. Clement III. who was the emperor's pontiff,^o was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. Henry carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, abbot of mount Cassin, who adopted the title of Victor III.

^m See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. ad d. xxv. Maii*, and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sac. vi. pars ii.*

ⁿ The reader will find an ample and curious account of this matter in a French book published in Holland in the year 1743, in three volumes, under the following title; *L'Avocat du Diable, ou Mémoires Historiques et Critiques, sur la Vie et sur la Légende du Pape Grégoire VII.*

^o The very learned Jo. Gottl. Hornius engaged himself, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609, to publish the *Life of Clement III.* This pontiff died in the year 1100, as appears evidently from the *Chronicon Benaventanum*, published by Muratori, in his *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 262. See also Rubei *Historia Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 307.

and was consecrated in the church of *St. Peter*, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of Clement. But this new pontiff was of a character quite opposite to that of Gregory; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild and gentle disposition; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome, under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at Benevento, where he confirmed and renewed the laws that Gregory had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

xx. Otho, bishop of Ostia, and monk of Clugni, was, by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new pontiff was elected at Terracina, in the year 1088, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution, he was however his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence.^p The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return into Italy, in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed; victory crowned the arms of that prince, who by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated at length Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and the famous Mathilda, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and by the advice and assistance of Urban and Mathilda, usurped the kingdom of Italy, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences however of this event were less fatal to Henry than his enemies expected. In the mean time the troubles of Italy still continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts, reduce the city of Rome under his lordly yoke. Finding all his ambitious measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at Placentia, in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of Gregory; and afterward undertook

^p We find in the *Posthumous Works of Mabillon*, tom. iii. p. 1, the *Life of Urban II.* composed by Theod. Ruinart, with much learning and industry, but with too little impartiality and fidelity, as we may naturally suppose even from the name of its author, since it is well known that no monkish writer dare attempt to paint the Roman pontiffs in their true colours. See also, for an account of Urban, the *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 514.

a journey into France, where he held the famous council of Clermont, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults and desolations that the dispute concerning *investitures* had already produced, this unworthy pontiff added fuel to the flame, and so exasperated matters by his imprudent and arrogant proceedings, as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. Gregory, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of Urban, who published it as a law in the council of Clermont.¹ After this *noble* expedition, the restless pontiff returned into Italy, where he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099; he was not long survived by his antagonist Clement III. who died the following year, and thus left Raynier, a benedictine monk, who was chosen successor to Urban, and assumed the name of Paschal II. sole possessor of the papal chair at the conclusion of this century.

xxi. Among the eastern monks in this century, there happened nothing worthy of being consigned to the records of history, while those of the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, and which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontiffs; this connexion had been long formed, and it was originally owing to the avarice and violence of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possession of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security against these invasions of their property in the protection of the popes. This protection was readily granted by the pontiffs, who seized, with avidity, every occasion of enlarging their authority; and the monks, in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their ghostly

¹ To the fifteenth canon of this council the following words were added, "Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant," i. e. "It is enacted that no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath *liege obedience* to any king or any layman." They are entirely mistaken who affirm that Gregory prohibited the bishops from taking oaths of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as cardinal Noris has sufficiently demonstrated in his *Istoria delle Investiture*, chap. x. p. 279.

patrons. But in this century things were carried still farther; and the pontiffs, more especially Gregory VII. who was eagerly bent upon humbling the bishops, and transferring their privileges to the Roman see, enlarged their jurisdiction over the monks at the expense of the episcopal order. They advised and exhorted the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of St. Peter.^r Hence it happened that, from the time of Gregory, the number of monasteries that had received *immunities*, both from the temporal authority of the sovereign and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure throughout all Europe, and the rights of princes, together with the interests and privileges of the episcopal order, were violated and trampled upon, or rather engrossed, to swell the growing despotism of the all grasping pontiffs.^s

XXII. All the writers of this age complain of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities, that dishonoured by far the greatest part of the monastic orders, not to mention the numerous marks of their dissolution and impiety that have been handed down to our times.^t However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities among a set of men whose destination was so sacred, and whose profession was so austere, we shall be still more surprised to learn that this degenerate order, so far from losing aught of their influence and credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted, on the contrary, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence and authority increasing from day to day. Our surprise indeed will be diminished, when we consider the gross ignorance and superstition, and the unbounded licentiousness and corruption of manners, that reigned in this century among all ranks and orders of men.^u Ignorance and corruption pervert the

Their corruption.

^r A specimen of this may be seen in the seventh epistle of Gregory, in which he reduces the monks of Redon under the jurisdiction of the Roman see, by a mandate conceived in terms that had never been used before his time; see Martene *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom. i. p. 204. We may add to this several like mandates of Urban II. and the succeeding pontiffs, which are to be found in the collection now cited, and in others of that kind.

^s There is not perhaps in Germany, one single instance of this pernicious *immunity* before the time of Gregory VII.

^t See Jo. Launoy, *Assert. in privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. xxvi. § vi. opp. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 499, and Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxii. p. 331.

^u For an account of the astonishing corruption of this age, see Blondel, *De Formula regnante Christo*, p. 14. Boulainvilliers, *De l'Origine et des Droits de la Noblesse* in Mey.

taste and judgment of even those who are not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked at the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sentiments and conduct, amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the clergy, both *secular* and *regular*, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved in their external demeanour the least appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints of the highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. This circumstance was no doubt favourable to many of the monks, who were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute more or less to support the credit of the whole body. Beside, it often happened, that princes, dukes, knights, and generals, whose days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished by nothing but the violent exploits of unbridled lust, cruelty, and avarice, felt at the approach of old age, or death, the inexpressible anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource? What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand of divine justice, and render the governor of the world propitious? They purchased at an enormous price the prayers of the monks to screen them from judgment, and devoted to God and to the saints a large portion of the fruits of their rapine, or entered themselves into the monastic order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren. And thus it was that monkery received perpetually new accessions of opulence and credit.

xxiii. The monks of Clugni in France surpassed all the other religious orders in the renown they had acquired, from a prevailing opinion of their eminent sanctity and virtue. Hence their discipline was universally respected, and hence also their rules were adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of

The monks of
Clugni.

let's *Memoires de Litterature et d'Histoire*, tom. ix. part i. p. 63. The corruption and violence that reigned with impunity in this horrid age, gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence of which a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and particularly of the fair sex, against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of knighterrant was certainly of great use in these miserable times, when the majesty of laws and government was fallen into contempt, and they who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates, had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their stations.

those that were in a state of decline. These famous monks arose by degrees to the very highest summit of worldly prosperity, by the presents which they received from all quarters; and their power and credit grew, with their opulence, to such a height, that toward the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the *order* or *congregation of Clugni*.^w And no sooner were they thus established, than they extended their spiritual dominion on all sides, reducing under their jurisdiction all the monasteries which they had reformed by their counsels and engaged to adopt their religious discipline. The famous Hugo, sixth abbot of Clugni, who was in high credit at the court of Rome, and had acquired the peculiar protection and esteem of several princes, laboured, with such success, in extending the power and jurisdiction of his order, that before the end of this century, he saw himself at the head of five and thirty of the principal monasteries in France, beside a considerable number of smaller convents that acknowledged him as their chief. Many other religious societies, though they refused entering into this new order, and continued to choose their respective governors, yet showed such respect for the *abbot* of Clugni, or the *archabbot*, as he styled himself, that they regarded him as their spiritual chief.^x This enormous augmentation of opulence and authority, was however fruitful of many evils; it increased the arrogance of these aspiring monks, and contributed much to the propagation of the several vices that dishonoured the religious societies of this licentious and superstitious age. The monks of Clugni degenerated soon from their primitive sanctity, and in a short space of time were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.

xxiv. The example of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, or congregations, like that of Clugni; the consequence of which was, that the benedictine order, which had been hitherto one great and universal body was now divided into sepa-

^w For a particular account of the rapid and monstrous strides which the order of Clugni made to opulence and dominion, see Steph. Baluzius, *Miscellan.* tom. v. p. 343, and tom. vi. p. 436, as also Mabillion, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. *passim*.

^x Mabillon, *Præfat. ad Sæc. v. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. xxvi. *Hist. Generale de Bourgogne par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 151, published at Paris in folio, in the year 1739. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. i. p. 470.

rate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet differed from each other in various circumstances, both in their discipline and manner of living ; and rendered their division still more conspicuous by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred. In the year 1023, Romuald, an Italian fanatic, retired to Camaldoli,^y on the mount Appennine, and in that solitary retreat founded the order or *congregation of the camaldolites*, which still remains in a flourishing state, particularly in Italy. His followers were distinguished into two classes, of which the one were cœnobites, and the other eremites. Both observed a severe discipline ; but the cœnobites had degenerated much from their primitive austerity.^z

Some time after this, Gualbert, a native of Florence, founded at Val Ombroso, situated in the Appennines, a congregation of benedictine monks, who, in a short space of time, propagated their discipline in several parts of Italy.^a To these two Italian monasteries we may add that of Hirsauge in Germany,^b erected by William, an eminent abbot, who had reformed many ancient convents, and was the founder of several new establishments. It is however to be observed that the monastery of Hirsauge was rather a branch of the congregation of Clugni, whose laws and manner of living it had adopted, than a new fraternity.

xxv. Toward the conclusion of this century,^c Robert, abbot of Moleme, in Burgundy, having employed in vain his most zealous efforts to revive the decaying piety and discipline of his convent, and to oblige his monks to observe, with more exactness, the rule of St. Benedict, retired, with about twenty monks, who had not been infected with the dissolute turn of their brethren, to a

Cistercian
monks.

^y Otherwise called Campo Malduli.

^z The writers who have given any satisfactory accounts of the order of the *camaldolites*, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii. ævi*, tom. i. p. 895. Add to these Romauldi *Vita*, in *Actis Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 101, and in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. pars i. p. 247.* Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 236. Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 261. Magnoaldi Zeigelbaver, *Centisfolium Camaldulense, sive Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, published at Venice in the year 1750.

^a See the life of Gualbert, in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 273.* Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 298. Many interesting circumstances relating to the history of this order have been published by the learned Lami, in the *Deliciae Eruditorum*, published at Florence, tom. ii. p. 238, as also p. 272, 279, where the ancient laws of the order are enumerated ; see also tom. iii. of the same work, p. 177, 212.

^b See Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Bened. Sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 716.* Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 332.

^c In the year 1098.

place called Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons. In this retreat, which was at that time a miserable desert, covered on all sides with brambles and thorns, but which bears at present a quite different aspect, Robert laid the foundations of the famous order, or *congregation of cistercians*, which like that of Clugni, made a most rapid and astonishing progress, was propagated through the greatest part of Europe in the following century, and was not only enriched with the most liberal and splendid donations, but also acquired the form and privileges of a spiritual republic, and exercised a sort of dominion over all the monastic orders.^d The great and fundamental law of this new fraternity, was the rule of St. Benedict, which was to be solemnly and rigorously observed; to this were added several other institutions and injunctions, which were designed to maintain the authority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and to defend it against the dangerous effects of opulence, and the restless efforts of human corruption to render the best establishments imperfect. These injunctions were excessively austere, grievous to nature, but pious and laudable in the esteem of a superstitious age. They did not however secure the sanctity of this holy congregation; since the seducing charms of opulence that corrupted the monks of Clugni much sooner than was expected, produced the same effect among the cistercians, whose zeal, in the rigorous observance of their rule, began gradually to diminish, and who in process of time, grew as negligent and dissolute as the rest of the benedictines.^e

xxvi. Beside these convents, that were founded upon the principles, and might be considered as branches of the benedictine order, several other monastic societies were formed, which were distinguished by peculiar laws, and by rules of discipline and obedience, which they had drawn up for themselves. To many of

New monastic orders.

^d In about an hundred years after its first establishment, this order boasted of eighteen hundred abbeys, and was become so powerful, that it governed almost all Europe both in spirituals and temporals.

^e The principal historian of the *cistercian order*, is Ang. Manriques, whose *Annales Cistercienses*, an ample and learned work, were published in four volumes folio at Lyons, in the year 1642. After him we may place Pierre le Nain, whose *Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre des Citeaux*, was printed in the year 1696, at Paris, in nine volumes, in 8vo. The other historians, who have given accounts of this famous order, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Latina mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1066. Add to these Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 341, and Mabillon, who, in the fifth and sixth volumes of his *Annales Benedictini*, has given a learned and accurate account of the origin and progress of the cistercians.

those gloomy and fanatical monks, whose austerity was rather the fruit of a bad habit of body, than the result of a religious principle, the rule of Benedict appeared too mild; to others it seemed incomplete and defective, and not sufficiently accommodated to the exercise of the various duties we owe to the Supreme Being. Hence Stephen, a nobleman of Auvergne, who is called by some Stephen de Muret, from the place where he first erected the convent of his order, obtained, in the year 1073, from Gregory VII. the privilege of instituting a new species of monastic discipline. His first design was to subject his fraternity to the rule of St. Benedict; but he changed his intention, and composed himself the body of laws, which was to be their rule of life, piety, and manners. In these laws there were many injunctions, that showed the excessive austerity of their author. Poverty and obedience were the two great points which he inculcated with the warmest zeal, and all his regulations were directed to promote and secure them in this new establishment; for this purpose it was solemnly enacted, that the monks should possess no lands beyond the limits of their convent; that the use of flesh should be allowed to none, not even to the sick and infirm; and that none should be permitted to keep cattle, that they might not be exposed to the temptation of violating their frugal regimen. To these severe precepts many others of equal rigour were added; for this gloomy legislator imposed upon his fraternity the solemn observance of a profound and uninterrupted silence, and insisted so much upon the importance and necessity of solitude, that none but a few persons of the highest eminence and authority were permitted to pass the threshold of his monastery. He prohibited all intercourse with the female sex, and indeed excluded his order from all the comforts and enjoyments of life. His followers were divided into two classes, of which the one comprehended the *clerks*, and the other what he called the *converted brethren*. The former were totally absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, while the latter were charged with the care and administration of whatever related to the concerns and necessities of the present life. Such were the principal circumstances of the new institution founded by Stephen, which arose to the highest pitch of renown in this and the following century, and was regarded with the most profound veneration as long as its laws

and discipline were observed ; but two things contributed to its decline, and at length brought on its ruin ; the first was, the violent contest which arose between the *clerks* and the *converts*, on account of the pre-eminence which the latter pretended over the former ; and the second was, the gradual diminution of the rigour and austerity of Stephen's rule, which was softened and mitigated from time to time, both by the heads of the order, and by the Roman pontiffs. This once famous monastic society was distinguished by the title of the *order of grandmontains*, as Muret, where they were first established, was situated near Grammont, in the province of Limoges.^f

xxvii. In the year 1084,^g was instituted the famous order of carthusians, so called from Chartreux, a dismal and wild spot of ground, near Grenoble in Dauphine, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this monastic society, which surpassed all the rest in the extravagant austerity of their manners and discipline, was Bruno, a native of Cologne, and canon of the cathedral of Rheims in France. This zealous ecclesiastic, who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear the dissolute manners of his archbishop Manasse, retired from his church with six of his companions, and having obtained the permission of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, fixed his residence in the miserable desert already mentioned.^h He adopted at first the rule of St. Bene-

The order
of the carthu-
sians.

^f The origin of this order is related by Bernard Guidon, whose treatise upon that subject is published in the *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, Phil. Labbei, tom. ii. p. 275. For an account of the history of this celebrated society, see Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 65, s. p. 99, tom. vi. p. 116, and *Præf. ad Act. SS. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. vi.* part ii. p. 34. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 409. *Gallia Christ. Monachor. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 645. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Arenionens.* tom. i. p. 158, et *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 486. The life and ghostly exploits of Stephen, the founder of this order, are recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 199.

^g Some place the institution of this order in the year 1080, and others in the year 1086.

^h The learned Fabricius mentions, in his *Bibl. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 784. several writers who have composed the history of Bruno and his order, but his enumeration is incomplete ; since there are yet extant many histories of the carthusians, that have escaped his notice. See Innocent. Massoni *Annales Carthusian.* published in the year 1687. Petri Orlandi *Chronicon Carthusianum*, and the elegant, though imperfect history of the order in question, which is to be found in Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 366. Many important illustrations on the nature and laws of this famous society have been published by Mabillon, in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 638, 683. A particular and accurate account of Bruno has been given by the benedictine monks, in their *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 233 ; but a yet more ample one will be undoubtedly given by the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, when they shall have carried on their work to the 6th of October, which is the festival consecrated to the memory of Bruno. It was a current report in ancient times, that the occasion of Bruno's retreat was the miraculous restoration of a certain priest to life, who, while the funeral

dict, to which he added a considerable number of severe and rigorous precepts; his successors however went still farther, and imposed upon the carthusians new laws, much more intolerable than those of their founder, laws which inculcated the highest degrees of austerity that the most gloomy imagination could invent.¹ And yet, notwithstanding all this, it is remarkable, that no monastic society degenerated so little from the severity of their primitive institution and discipline as this of the carthusians. The progress of their order was indeed less rapid, and their influence less extensive in the different countries of Europe, than the progress and influence of those monastic establishments, whose laws were less rigorous, and whose manners were less austere. It was a long time before the tender sex could be engaged to submit to the savage rules of this melancholy institution; nor had the carthusian order ever reason to boast of a multitude of females subjected to its jurisdiction; it was too forbidding to captivate a sex, which, though susceptible of the seductions of enthusiasm, is of a frame too delicate to support the severities of a rigorous self denial.^k

xxviii. Toward the conclusion of this century,¹ the order of St. Anthony of Vienne in Dauphine, was instituted for the relief and support of such as were seized with greivous disorders, and was particularly the disease called *St. Anthony's fire*. All

The order of
St. Anthony of
Vienne.

service was performing, raised himself up and said, "By the just judgment of God I am damned," and then expired anew. This story is looked upon as fabulous by the most respectable writers, even of the Roman church, especially since it has been refuted by Lannoy, in his treatise *De causa Secessus Brunonis in Desertum*. Nor does it seem to preserve its credit among the earthusians, who are more interested than others in this pretended miracle. Such of them at least as affirm it, do it with a good deal of modesty and diffidence. The arguments on both sides are candidly and accurately enumerated by Cæsar. Egass. du Boulay, in his *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 467.

ⁱ See Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc.* vi. pars ii. *Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. 37.

^k The carthusian nuns have not sufficiently attracted the attention of the authors who have written concerning this famous order; nay, several writers have gone so far as to maintain, that there was not in this order a single convent of nuns. This notion however is highly erroneous; as there were formerly several convents of earthusian virgins, of which indeed the greatest part have not subsisted to our times. In the year 1368, there was an extraordinary law passed, by which the establishment of any more female earthusian convents was expressly prohibited. Hence there remain only five at this day; four in France, and one in Bruges in Flanders. See the *Varietes Historiques Physiques et Littéraires*, tom. i. p. 80, published at Paris in 8vo. in the year 1752. Certain it is, that the rigorous discipline of the carthusians is quite inconsistent with the delicacy and tenderness of the female sex; and therefore, in the few female convents of that order that still subsist, the austerity of that discipline has been diminished, as well from necessity, as from humanity and wisdom; it was more particularly found necessary to abrogate those severe injunctions of *silence* and *solitude*, that are so little adapted to the known character and genius of the sex.

¹ In the year 1095.

who were infected with that pestilential disorder repaired to a cell built near Vienne by the benedictine monks of Grammont, in which the body of St. Anthony was said to repose, that by the prayers and intercessions of this eminent saint, they might be miraculously healed. Gaston, an opulent nobleman of Vienne, and his son Guerin, pretended to have experienced, in their complete recovery, the marvellous efficacy of St. Anthony's intercession, and, in consequence thereof, devoted themselves and their possessions, from a principle of pious gratitude, to the service of St. Anthony, and to the performance of generous and charitable offices toward all such as were afflicted with the miseries of poverty and sickness. Their example was followed, at first, but by eight persons; their community however was afterward considerably augmented. They were not bound by particular vows like the other monastic orders, but were consecrated in general to the service of God, and lived under the jurisdiction of the monks of Grammont. In process of time, growing opulent and powerful by the multitude of pious donations they received from all parts, they withdrew themselves from the dominion of the benedictines, propagated their orders in various countries, and at length obtained, in the year 1297, from Boniface VIII. the dignity and privileges of an independent congregation, under the rule of St. Augustin.

· xxix. The licentiousness and corruption that had infected all the other ranks and orders of the clergy, ^{The order of canons.} were also remarkable among the *canons*, which was a middle sort of order between the monks and secular priests, and whose first establishment was in the eighth century. In certain provinces of Europe, the *canons* were corrupted to a very high degree, and surpassed, in the scandalous dissolution of their manners, all the other ecclesiastical and monastic orders. Hence several pious and virtuous persons exerted their zeal for the reformation of this degenerate body; some pontiffs appeared in this good cause, and more especially Nicholas II. who, in a council held at Rome in the year 1059, abrogated the ancient rule

^m See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Januarii*, p. 160. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 108. Gabr. Penolt. *Histor. Canoniorum regular.* lib. ii. cap. 70. Jo. Erh. Kappi, *Diss. de fratribus S. Anton.* published at Leipsick, in the year 1737. For an account of the present state of the principal hospital or residence of this order, where the abbot remains, see Martene and Durand, *Voyage Litter. de deux Benedictins de la Congreg. de St. Maur.* tom. i. p. 260.

of the canons, which had been drawn up at Aix la Chapelle, and substituted another in its place." These laudable attempts were attended with considerable success, and a much better rule of discipline was established in almost all the canonical orders, than that which had been formerly in use. It was not however possible to regulate them all upon the same footing, and to subject them to the same degree of reformation and discipline; nor indeed was this necessary. Accordingly a certain number of these canonical colleges were erected into communities, the respective members of which had one common dwelling, and a common table, which was the point chiefly insisted upon by the pontiffs, as this alone was sufficient to prevent the *canons* from entering into the bonds of matrimony. It did not however exclude them from the possession or enjoyment of private property; for they reserved to themselves the right of appropriating to their own use the fruits and revenues of their benefices, and of employing them as they thought expedient. Other canonical congregations subjected themselves to a rule of life less agreeable and commodious, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo, or Ives, bishop of Chartres, renouncing all their worldly possessions and prospects, all private property, and living in a manner that resembled the austerity of the monastic orders. Hence arose the well known distinction between the *secular* and the *regular canons*; the former of which observed the decree of Nicolas II. while the latter, more prone to mortification and self denial, complied with the directions and jurisdictions of Ivo; and as this austere prelate imitated St. Augustin^o in the manner of regulating the conduct of his clergy, his *canons* were called by many the *regular canons of St. Augustin*.^p

ⁿ This decree of Nicholas II. by which the primitive rule of the *canons* was changed, is published by Mabillon among the papers, which serve as proofs to the fourth volume of his *Annales Bened.* and also in the *Annals* themselves. See tom. iv. *Annal Bened.* p. 748, as also lib. lxi. §xxxv. p. 586.

^o ☞ St. Augustin committed to writing no particular rule for his clergy; but his manner of ruling them may be learned from several passages in his *Epistles*.

^p See Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 586, et *Opera Posthuma*, tom. ii. p. 102, 115. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 11. Lud. Thomassini *Disciplina Ecclesie circa Beneficia*, tom. i. pars i. l. iii. c. xi. p. 657. Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 257. In the *Gallia Christiana* of the benedictine monks, we find frequent mention made both of this reformation of the *canons*, and also of their division into *seculars* and *regulars*. The *regular canons* are much displeased with all the accounts that render the origin of their community so recent; they are extremely ambitious of appearing with the venerable character of an ancient establishment, and therefore trace back their first rise, through the darkness of the remotest ages, to Christ himself, or at least

xxx. The most eminent Greek writers of this century; were,

Theophanes *Cerameus*, i. e. the *potter*, of whom The principal
Greek writers. there is yet extant a volume of *Homilies*, that are not altogether contemptible;

Nilus Doxopatrius, who was remarkable for his knowledge in matters relating to ecclesiastical polity;

Nicetas Pectoratus, who was a most strenuous defender of the religious sentiments and customs of the Greek church;

Michael Psellus, whose vast progress in various kinds of learning and science procured him a most distinguished and shining reputation;

Michael Cerularius, bishop or patriarch of Constantinople, who imprudently revived the controversy between the Greeks and Latins, which had been for some time happily suspended;

Simeon the Younger, author of a book of *Meditations on the duties of the christian life*, which is yet extant;

Theophylact, a Bulgarian, whose illustrations of the sacred writings were received with universal approbation and esteem.⁴

xxxI. The writers who distinguished themselves most among the Latins, were they that follow;

Latin writers.

to St. Augustin. But the arguments and testimonies, by which they pretend to support this imagined antiquity of their order, are a proof of the weakness of their cause and of the vanity of their pretensions, and are not worthy of a serious refutation. It is true, the title of *canons* is undoubtedly of much more ancient date, than the eleventh century, but not as applied to a particular order or institution, for at its first rise it was used in a very vague general sense, see Claud de Vert, *Explications des Ceremonies de la Messe*, tom. i. p. 58, and therefore the mere existence of the title proves nothing. At the same time it is evident, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that we find not the least mention made of the division of the *canons* into *regular* and *secular* before the eleventh century. And it is equally certain, that those *canons*, who had nothing in common but their *dwelling* and *table*, were called *secular*; while those who had divested themselves of all private property, and had every thing without exception in common with their fraternity, were distinguished by the title of *regular canons*.

☞ To Dr. Mosheim's account of the *canons*, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The *order of regular canons of St. Augustin* was brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I. who first erected a priory of his order at Nostel, in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of Carlisle converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by Henry I. who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of Dunstable, and by queen Maud, who erected for them, the year following, the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously that, beside, the noble priory of Merton, which was founded for them in the year 1117, by Gilbert, an earl of the Norman blood, they had, under the reign of Edward I. fifty three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

⁴ For a more ample account of these Greek writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, eminent for his love of letters, and his zeal for the education of youth, as also for various compositions, particularly his epistles, and famous for his excessive and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin Mary ;^r

Humbert, a cardinal of the Roman church, who far surpassed all the Latins, both in the vehemence and learning which appeared in his controversial writings against the Greeks ;^s

Petrus Damianus, who, on account of his genius, candour, probity, and various erudition, deserves to be ranked among the most learned and estimable writers of this century ; though he was not altogether untainted with the reigning prejudices and defects of the times ;^t

Marianus Scotus, whose *Chronicle*, with several other compositions, is yet extant ;

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great genius and subtilty, deeply versed in the dialectics of this age, and most illustriously distinguished by his profound and extraordinary knowledge in theology ;^u

Lanfranc, also archbishop of Canterbury, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his *Commentary upon the epistles of St. Paul*, as also by several other productions,^v which, considering the age in which he lived, discover an uncommon measure of sagacity and erudition ;^x

Bruno, of mount Cassin, and the other famous ecclesiastic of that name, who founded the monastery of the carthusians ;

Ivo, bishop of Chartres, who was so eminently distinguished by his zeal and activity in maintaining the rights and privileges of the church ;

^r For a farther account of this eminent man, see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 261.

^s See Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdót.* tom. v. p. 629. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 527.

^t See the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. iii. p. 406. *General Dictionary*, at the article Damien. Casim. Ondini Diss. in tom. ii. *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* p. 686.

^u See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 398. Rapin Thoyrnus, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 65, 166, de l'éd. en 4to. Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 210. We have already given a more ample account of the eminent abilities and learned productions of Anselm.

^v Among these productions we may reckon Lanfranc's *Letters* to pope Alexander II. to Hildebrand, while archdeacon of Rome, and to several bishops in England and Normandy ; as also *A commentary upon the Psalms* ; *A treatise concerning confession* ; *An Ecclesiastical History*, which is not extant ; and *A remarkable dissertation concerning the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist*. In this last performance, Lanfranc endeavours to prove, against Berenger, the reality of a *corporal presence* in the eucharist ; though it is manifest, that this opinion was not the doctrine of the church of England, in the conclusion of the tenth, or the commencement of the following century. See Collier's *Eccles. History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 260, 263.

^x *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 260.

Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, who was a philosopher and a poet, as well as a divine, without being either eminent or contemptible in any of these characters ;^y but upon the whole, a man of considerable learning and capacity ;

Gregory VII. that imperious and arrogant pontiff, of whom we have several productions beside his *Letters*.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

I. It is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition ; and employed all their zeal in the worship of images and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic priesthood. The more learned it is true retained still some notions of the truth, which however they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were no doubt in several places judicious and pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion ; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts not only dangerous, but even desperate ; and those chosen spirits, who had escaped the general contagion, lay too much concealed, and had therefore too little influence to combat, with success, the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage.

The state of religion.

^y The benedictine monks published in folio, at Paris, in the year 1708, the *Works* of Hildebert, illustrated by the observations of Beaugendre.

11. Notwithstanding all this we find, from the time of Gregory VII. several proofs of the zealous efforts of those, who are generally called by the protestants, the *witnesses of the truth*; by whom are meant, such pious and judicious christians, as adhered to the pure religion of the gospel, and remained uncorrupted amidst the growth of superstition; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its divine doctrines, and the vices of its profligate ministers; who opposed, with vigour, the tyrannic ambition both of the lordly pontiff and the aspiring bishops; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was indeed bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner, and it was principally in Italy and France that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited. [Nor is it at all surprising, that the reigning superstition of the times met with this opposition; it is astonishing, on the contrary, that this opposition was not much greater and more universal, and that millions of christians suffered themselves to be hoodwinked with such a tame submission, and closed their eyes upon the light with so little reluctance.] For notwithstanding the darkness of the times, and the general ignorance of the true religion that prevailed in all ranks and orders, yet the very fragments of the gospel, if we may use that term, which were still read and explained to the people, were sufficient at least to convince the most stupid and illiterate, that the religion, which was now imposed upon them, was not the true religion of Jesus; that the discourses, the lives, and morals of the clergy were directly opposite to what the divine Saviour required of his disciples, and to the rules he had laid down for the direction of their conduct; that the pontiffs and bishops abused, in a scandalous manner, their power and opulence; and that the favour of God, and the salvation exhibited in his blessed gospel, were not to be obtained by performing a round of external ceremonies, by pompous donations to churches and priests, or by founding and enriching monasteries, but by real sanctity of heart and manners.

111. It must indeed be acknowledged, that they who undertook, with such zeal and ardour, the reformation of the church, were not for the most part equal to this ardu-

ous and important enterprise, and that by avoiding with more vehemence than circumspection, certain abuses and defects, they rushed unhappily into the opposite extremes. They all perceived the abominable nature of those inventions with which superstition had disfigured the religion of Jesus ; but they had also lost sight of the true nature and genius of that celestial religion, that lay thus disfigured in the hands of a superstitious and dissolute priesthood. They were shocked at the absurdities of the established worship ; but few of them were sufficiently acquainted with the sublime precepts and doctrines of genuine Christianity, to substitute in the place of this superstitious worship a rational service. Hence their attempts of reformation, even where they were successful, were extremely imperfect, and produced little more than a motley mixture of truth and falsehood, of wisdom and indiscretion ; of which we might allege a multitude of examples. Observing, for instance, that the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by their excessive opulence and their vast possessions, they conceived rashly the highest ideas of the salutary effects of indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the most eminent and illustrious virtue of a christian minister. They had also formed to themselves a notion, that the primitive church was to be the standing and perpetual model, according to which the rites, government, and worship of all christian churches were to be regulated in all the ages of the world ; and that the lives and manners of the holy apostles were to be rigorously followed in every respect by all the ministers of Christ. [¶ These notions, which were injudiciously taken up, and blindly entertained, without any regard to the difference of times, places, circumstances, and characters ; without considering that the provident wisdom of Christ and his apostles left many regulations to the prudence and piety of the governors of the church, were productive of many pernicious effects, and threw these good reformers, whose zeal was not always according to knowledge, from the extreme of superstition into the extreme of enthusiasm.] Many well meaning persons, whose intentions were highly laudable, fell into great errors in consequence of these ill grounded notions. Justly incensed at the conduct of the superstitious multitude, who placed the whole of religion in external services, and hoped to secure

their salvation by the performance of a laborious round of unmeaning rites and ceremonies, they rashly maintained, that true piety was to be confined entirely to the inward motions and affections of the soul, and to the contemplation of spiritual and divine things. In consequence of this specious yet erroneous principle, they treated with the utmost contempt all the external parts of religious worship, and aimed at nothing less than the total suppression of sacraments, churches, religious assemblies of every kind, and christian ministers of every order.

iv. Several of both the Greek and Latin writers employed their learned and pious labours in the Commentators and expositors. exposition and illustration of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, Bruno wrote a commentary on the *Book of Psalms*, Lanfranc upon the *Epistles of St. Paul*, Berenger upon the *Revelations of St. John*, Gregory VII. upon the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and others upon other parts of the sacred writings. But all these expositors, in compliance with the prevailing custom of the times, either copied the explanations of the ancient commentators, or made such whimsical applications of certain passages of scripture, both in explaining the doctrines, and in inculcating the duties of religion, that it is often difficult to peruse them without indignation or disgust. The most eminent of the Grecian expositors was Theophylact, a native of Bulgaria; though he also is indebted to the ancients, and in a particular manner, to St. Chrysostom, for the greatest part of his most judicious observations.² Nor must we pass in silence the commentary upon the *Book of Psalms*, and the *Song of Solomon*, that was composed by the learned Michael Psellus; nor the *chain* of commentaries upon the *Book of Job*, which we owe to the industry of Nicetas.

v. All the Latin doctors, if we except a few Hibernian Scholastic theology. divines, who blended with the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, the perplexing subtilties of an obscure philosophy, had hitherto derived their system of religion, and their explications of divine truth, either from the holy scriptures alone, or from these sacred oracles explained by the illustrations, and compared with the theology of the

² For an account of Theophylact, see Rich. Simon. *Hist Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* ch. xxviii. p. 390, et *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par Du Pin, tom. i. p. 310, where he also speaks largely concerning Nicetas and Oecumenius.

ancient doctors. But in this century certain writers, and among others the famous Berenger,^a went much farther, and employed the rules of logic and the subtilties of metaphysical discussions, both in explaining the doctrines of scripture, and in proving the truth of their own particular opinions. Hence Lanfranc, the antagonist of Berenger, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, introduced into the field of religious controversy the same philosophical arms, and seemed in general desirous of employing the dictates of reason to illustrate and confirm the truths of religion. His example in this respect was followed by Anselm, his disciple and successor in the see of Canterbury, a man of a truly metaphysical genius, and capable of giving the greatest air of dignity and importance to the *first philosophy*. Such were the beginnings of that philosophical theology, which grew afterward, by degrees, into a cloudy and enormous system, and from the public schools in which it was cultivated, acquired the name of *scholastic divinity*.^b It is however necessary to observe, that the eminent divines, who first set on foot this new species of theology, and thus laudably maintained that most noble and natural connexion of *faith with reason*, and of *religion with philosophy*, were much more prudent and moderate than their followers, in the use and application of this conciliatory scheme. They kept, for the most part, within bounds, and wisely reflected upon the limits of reason; their language was clear; the questions they proposed were instructive and interesting; they avoided all discussions that were only proper to satisfy a vain and idle curiosity; and in their disputes and demonstrations, they made generally speaking, a wise and sober use of the rules of logic, and of the dictates of philosophy.^c [¶ Their followers, on the contrary, ran with

¶ ^a Otherwise called Berengarius, and famous for the noble opposition he made to the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, which Lanfranc so absurdly pretended to support upon philosophical principles. The attempt of this latter to introduce the rules of logic into religious controversy would have been highly laudable, had not he perverted this respectable science to the defence of the most monstrous absurdities.

^b See Chr. August. Henmauni *Præf. ad Tribbechorii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. 14. The sentiments of the learned, concerning the first author or inventor of the scholastic divinity, are collected by Jo. Franc. Buddeus, in his *Isagoge ad Theolog.* tom. i. p. 38.

^c We shall here transcribe a passage from the works of Lanfranc, who is considered by many as the father of the scholastic system, that the reader may see how far the first schoolmen surpassed their disciples and followers, in wisdom, modesty, and candour. We take this passage from that prelate's book concerning *the body and blood of Christ*,* and it is as follows; "Testis mihi Deus est et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu

* Cap. vii. p. 238, opp. ed. Luc. Dacherii.

a metaphysical phrenzy into the greatest abuses, and by the most unjustifiable perversion of a wise and excellent method of searching after, and confirming truth, they banished evidence out of religion, common sense out of philosophy, and erected a dark and enormous mass of pretended *science*, in which *words* passed for *ideas* and *sound* for *sense*.]

VI. No sooner was this new method introduced, than the Latin doctors began to reduce all the doctrines of religion into one permanent and connected system, and to treat theology as a science; an enterprise which had hitherto been attempted by none but Taio, of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and the learned Damascenas, who flourished among the Greeks in the following age. The Latin doctors had hitherto confined their theological labours to certain branches of the christian religion, which they illustrated only on certain occasions. The first production which looked like a general system of theology, was that of the celebrated Anselm; this however was surpassed by the complete and universal body of divinity, which was composed, toward the conclusion of this century, by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, who seems to have been regarded both as the first and the best model in this kind of writing. by the innumerable legions of system makers, who arose in succeeding times.^d This learned

divinarum literarum nec proponere nec ad propositas respondere cuperem dialecticas quæstiones, vel earum solutiones. Et si quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulis valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum, per arquipollentias propositionum tego artem, ne videar magis arte, quam veritate, sanctorumque patrum auctoritate confidere." Lanfranc here declares in the most solemn manner, even by an appeal to God and his conscience, that he was so far from having the least inclination to propose or to answer logical questions in the course of his theological labours, that on the contrary, when he was forced to have recourse to the science of dialectic, in order the better to illustrate his subject, he concealed the succours he derived from thence with all possible care, lest he should seem to place more confidence in the resources of *art*, than in the simplicity of *truth*, and the *authority of the holy fathers*. These last words show plainly the *two* sources from whence the christian doctors had hitherto derived all their tenets, and the arguments by which they maintained them, viz. from the holy scriptures, which Lanfranc here calls the *truth*, and from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church. To these two sources of theology and argumentation, a *third* was added in this century, even the science of logic, which however was only employed by the managers of controversy to repulse their adversaries, who came armed with syllogisms, or to remove difficulties which were drawn from reason and from the nature of things. But in succeeding times, the two former sources were either entirely neglected or sparingly employed, and philosophical demonstration, or at least something that bore that name, was regarded as a sufficient support to the truths of religion.

^d This body of divinity, which was the first complete theological system that had been composed among the Latins, is inserted in the *Works* of Hildebert, published by Beaugendre, who shows evidently, in his *preface*, that Peter Lombard, Pullus, and the other writers of theological systems, did no more than follow servilely the traces of Hildebert

prelate demonstrated first the doctrines of his system by proofs drawn from the holy scriptures, and also from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church; and in this he followed the custom that had prevailed in the preceding ages; but he went yet farther, and answered the objections which might be brought against his doctrine, by arguments drawn from reason and philosophy; this part of his method was entirely new, and peculiar to the age in which he lived.^c

VII. The moral writers of this century, who undertook to unfold the obligations of christians, and to delineate the nature, the extent, and the various Moral writers. branches of true virtue and evangelical obedience, treated this most excellent of all sciences in a manner quite unsuitable to its dignity and importance. We find sufficient proofs of this in the moral writings of Peter Damien,^f and even of the learned Hildebert.^g The moralists of this age generally confined themselves to a jejune explication of what are commonly called the four cardinal virtues, to which they added the *ten commandments*, to complete their system. Anselm, the famous prelate of Canterbury, surpassed indeed all the moral writers of his time; the books which he composed, with a design to promote practical religion, and more especially his *Book of meditations and prayers*, contain many excellent things, several happy thoughts expressed with much energy and unction. [Nor did the mystic divines satisfy themselves with piercing, by *extatic thought* and *feeling*, into the sublime regions of *beauty* and *love*; they *conceived* and *brought forth* several productions that were destined to diffuse the pure delights of *union* and *communion* through enamoured souls.] Johannes Johannellus, a Latin mystic, wrote a treatise concerning *divine contemplation*; ^h and Simeon the Younger, who was a Grecian sage of the same visionary

^c It may not be improper to place here a passage which is taken from a treatise of Anselm's, entitled *Cum Deus homo?* since this passage was respected by the first scholastic divines, as an immutable law in theology; "Sicut rectus ordo exigit," says the learned prelate, "ut profunda fidei Christianæ credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere; ita negligentia mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere; which amounts to this, "That we must first believe without examination, but must afterward endeavour to understand what we believe."

^f See Petrus Damianus, *De Virtutibus*.

^g See Hildeberti *Philosophia Moralis*, et *Libellus de IV. Virtutibus honestæ vitæ*.

^h See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 48.

class, composed several discourses upon subjects of a like nature.

viii. Among the controversial writers of this century, we see the effects of the scholastic method that Berenger and Lanfranc had introduced into the study of theology. We see divines entering the lists armed with syllogisms, which they manage awkwardly, and aiming rather to confound their adversaries by the subtilties of logic, than to convince them by the power of evidence; while those who were unprovided with this philosophical armour, made a still more wretched and despicable figure, fell into the grossest and most perverse blunders, and seem to have written without either thinking of their subject, or of the manner of treating it with success. Damianus, already mentioned, defended the truth of Christianity against the Jews; but his success was not equal either to the warmth of his zeal, or to the uprightness of his intentions. Samuel, a convert from *Judaism* to Christianity, wrote an elaborate treatise against those of his nation, which is still extant. But the noblest champion that appeared at this period of time in the cause of religion, was the famous Anselm, who attacked the enemies of Christianity, and the audacious contemners of all religion, in an ingenious work,ⁱ which was perhaps, by its depth and acuteness, above the comprehension of those whom it was designed to convince of their errors. [For it happened no doubt in these earlier times, as it frequently does in our days, that many gave themselves out for unbelievers, who knew not the first principles of reasoning, and whose incredulity was the fruit of ignorance and presumption, nourished by licentiousness and corruption of heart.]

ix. The famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not decided, had however been suspended for a considerable time, was imprudently revived, in the year 1053, by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless and turbulent spirit, who blew the flame of religious discord, and widened the fatal breach by new invectives and new accusations. The pretexts that were employed to justify this new rupture, were zeal for the

The state of controversial divinity.

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins revived.

ⁱ This work was entitled, *Liber adversus insipientem*, i. e. *The fool refuted*.

truth, and an anxious concern about the interests of religion; but its true causes were the arrogance and ambition of the Grecian patriarch and the Roman pontiff. The latter was constantly forming the most artful stratagems to reduce the former under his imperious yoke; and for this purpose, he left no means unemployed to gain over to his side the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, by withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. The tumultuous and unhappy state of the Grecian empire was singularly favourable to his aspiring views, as the friendship and alliance of the Roman pontiff was highly useful to the Greeks in their struggles with the Saracens and the Normans, who were settled in Italy. On the other hand, the Grecian pontiff was not only determined to refuse obstinately the least mark of submission to his haughty rival, but was also laying schemes for extending his dominion, and for reducing all the oriental patriarchs under his supreme jurisdiction. Thus the contending parties were preparing for the field of controversy, when Cerularius began the charge by a warm letter, written in his own name, and in the name of Leo, bishop of Achrida, who was his chief counsellor, to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which he publicly accused the Latins of various errors.^k Leo IX. who was then in the papal chair, answered this letter in a most imperious manner; and not satisfied with showing his indignation by mere words, assembled a council at Rome, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated.^l

x. Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, who was now at the head of the Grecian empire, endeavoured to stifle this controversy in its birth, and for that purpose desired the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to concert measures for restoring and confirming the tranquillity of the church. Three legates were accordingly sent from Rome to that imperial city, who brought with them letters from Leo IX. not only to the emperor, but also to the Grecian pontiff. These legates were cardinal Humbert, a man of a high and impetuous spirit, Peter, archbishop of Analfi, and Frederic, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of Rome. The issue of this congress was

^k See an account of those errors, § xi.

^l These letters of Cerularius and Leo, are published in the *Annals* of Baronius, *ad An.* 1053. The former is also inserted by Canisius, in his *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281, *ed. nov.* Leonis *Concilia*, &c.

unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the emperor, for political reasons,^m discovered to the cause of the bishop of Rome. The arrogance of Leo IX. and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in the breast of Cerularius, and produced a personal aversion to this audacious pontiff, which inflamed, instead of healings,ⁿ the wounds of the church; while, on the other hand, the Roman legates gave many and evident proofs, that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace and concord, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority and the ghostly dominion of the Roman pontiff. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished; and the Roman legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the vigorous resistance of Cerularius, they, with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly, in the church of St. Sophia, A. D. 1054, the Grecian patriarch, with Leo of Achrida, and all their adherents; and leaving a written act of their inhuman imprecations and anathemas upon the grand altar of that temple, they *shook the dust off their feet*, and thus departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable, which it was before not only possible, but perhaps easy to remedy. The Grecian patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman legates, and did from resentment what they had perpetrated from a principle of ambition and arrogance. He excommunicated these legates with all their adherents and followers in a public council, and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication, which they had pronounced against the Greeks.ⁿ These vehement measures were followed on both sides with a multitude of controversial writings, that were filled with the most bitter and irritating invectives, and served no other purpose than to add fuel to the flame.

xi. Cerularius added new accusations to the ancient

^m He stood greatly in need of the assistance of the Germans and Italians against the Normans, and hoped to obtain it by the good offices of the pope, who was in high credit with the emperor Henry III.

ⁿ Beside Baronius and other writers, whose accounts of this period of time are generally known, and not always exact, see Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. lib. ix. ad A. 1053, et *Præf. ad Sæc. vi. Actor. SS. Benedicti.* pars ii. p. 1. Leo Allatius, *De Libris Græcor. Ecclesiast. Diss.* ii. p. 160, ed. Fabricii, et *De perpetua Eccles. Orient. et Occident. Consensione*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614. Mich. le Quien, *Oriente Christiano*, tom. i. p. 260, et *Diss. Damascena prima*, § xxxi. p. 16. Hermannii *Historia Concertationum de pane azymo et fermentato*, p. 59, published at Leipsic in the year 1739. Jo. Bapt. Cotelierius, *Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 108.

charge, which had been brought by Photius against the Latin churches, of which the principal was, that they used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Lord's supper. This accusation, such were the times! was looked upon as a matter of the most serious nature, and of the highest consequence; it was therefore debated between the Greeks and Latins with the utmost vehemence, nor did the Grecian and Roman pontiffs contend with more fury and bitterness about the extent of their power, and the limits of their jurisdiction, than the Greek and Latin churches disputed about the use of unleavened bread. The other heads of accusation that were brought against the Latins by the Grecian pontiff, discovered rather a malignant and contentious spirit, and a profound ignorance of genuine Christianity, than a generous zeal for the cause of truth. He complains, for instance, in the heaviest manner, that the Latins do not abstain from the use of blood, and of things strangled; that their monks eat lard, and permit the use of flesh to such of the brethren as are sick or infirm; that their bishops adorn their fingers with rings as if they were bridegrooms; that their priests are beardless; and that in the rite of baptism they confined themselves to one single immersion.^o Such were the miserable and trifling objects that excited a fatal schism, and kindled a furious war between the Greeks and Latins, who carried their animosities to the greatest lengths, and loaded each other with reciprocal invectives and imprecations. The attentive reader will form from hence a just idea of the deplorable state of religion both in the eastern and western world at this period, and will see in this dreadful schism, the true origin of the various sects that multiplied the different forms of superstition and error in these unhappy times.

xii. This vehement dispute which the Greeks had to carry on against the Latin churches, was well nigh followed by a fatal division among themselves. Amidst the straits and difficulties to which the empire was now reduced by the expenses of war, and the calamities of the times, Alexius not only employed the treasures of the church, in order to answer the exigencies of the state, but ordered also the plates of silver, and the

A new controversy concerning the sanctity of images.

^o See Cerularii *Epistola ad Johannem Tranensem in Canisii Lection. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281, where the reader will also find the refutation of this letter by cardinal Humbert. See likewise Cerularii *Epistola ad Petrum Antiochens. in Cotelerii Monumentis Ecclesiæ Græc.* tom. ii. p. 138; add to these Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom. v. p. 847

figures of that metal that adorned the portals of the churches, to be taken down and converted into money. This measure excited the indignation of Leo, bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere morals, and of an obstinate spirit, who maintained that the emperor, in this step, was guilty of sacrilege; and to prove this charge, published a treatise, in which he affirmed, that in the images of Jesus Christ, and of the saints, there resided a certain kind of *inherent sanctity*, that was a proper object of religious worship; and that therefore the adoration of christians ought not to be confined to the persons represented by these images, but extended also to the images themselves. This new controversy excited various tumults and seditions among the people, to suppress which the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, in which the question was terminated by the following decisions. "That the images of Christ, and of the *saints*, were to be honoured only with a *relative worship*,^p which was to be offered, not to the substance or matter of which these images were composed, but to the *form and features* of which they bore the impression; that the representations of Christ, and of the saints, whether in painting or sculpture, did in no sense *partake of the nature* of the divine Saviour, or of these holy men, though they were enriched with a certain communication of divine grace; and lastly, that invocation and worship were to be addressed to the saints, only as the servants of Christ, and on account of their relation to him as their master." These decisions, absurd and superstitious as they were, were not enough so for Leo, the idolatrous bishop of Chalcedon, who maintained his monstrous system with obstinacy, and was for that reason sent into banishment.^q

XIII. The famous dispute concerning the *presence* of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist was revived about the middle of this century in the Latin church. Hitherto the disputants on both sides had proposed their jarring opinions with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the despotic voice of authority, since no council had given a definitive sentence upon this matter, nor prescribed a rule of faith to termi-

Controversies
in the Latin
church about
the Lord's sup-
per.

^p Σχελινικῶς προσκυνῶμεν, & λαβευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

^q An ample account of this whole matter is given by Anna Comnena, in her *Alexiad.* lib. v. p. 104, lib. vii. p. 158, edit. Venet. The acts of this council, the very mention of which is omitted by several historians of considerable note, are published by Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 103.

nate all inquiry and debate.^r Hence it was, that in the beginning of this century Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, affirmed, in opposition to the general opinion of the times, that none but the sincere and upright christian, none but saints and real believers received the body of Christ in the holy sacrament. This opinion, which was broached in the year 1004, was every way proper to excite rumours among the people; but these its natural effects were happily prevented by the influence of Robert, king of France, and the wise counsels of some prudent friends, who hindered the fanatical prelate from disseminating this whimsical invention.^s It was not so easy to extinguish the zeal, or to stop the mouth of the famous Berenger, principal of the public school at Tours, and afterward archbishop of Angers, a man of a most acute and subtile genius, and highly renowned both on account of his extensive learning, and the exemplary sanctity of his life and manners.^t This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045, the doctrine of Johannes Scotus, opposed warmly the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert, which were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude by exciting their astonishment, and persevered with a noble obstinacy in teaching, that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, and were no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour. This wise and rational doctrine was no sooner published, than it was opposed by certain doctors in France and Germany; but the Roman pontiff, Leo IX. attacked it with peculiar vehemence and fury in the year 1050; and in two councils, the one assembled at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This example was followed by the council of Paris, which was summoned the very same year by Henry I. and in which

^r The various opinions concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper that were embraced during this century, are collected by Martene from an ancient manuscript, and published in his *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, tom. ii. p. 126.

^s See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 254.

^t See the *Life of Berenger* in the *Works of Hildebert*, archdeacon of Mans, p. 1324. See also *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 197. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 304, and the authors mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 570. It is probably by a press error, that Hildebert is styled *archbishop*, instead of *archdeacon*, by Paris *Hist. lib. i.* p. 10, edit. Watts

Berenger, and his numerous adherents, were menaced with all sorts of evils, both spiritual and temporal. These threats were executed, in part, against this unhappy prelate, whom Henry deprived of all his revenues; but neither threatenings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, could shake the firmness of his mind, or engage him to renounce the doctrine he had embraced.

xiv. After these proceedings, the controversy was for some years happily suspended, and Berenger, whose patrons were as numerous as his enemies were formidable,^u enjoyed, for a while, the sweets of liberty and peace. His enemies however after the death of Leo IX. rekindled the flame of religious discord, and persuaded his successor Victor II. to examine anew the doctrine of Berenger. The pontiff complied, and sent his legates to two different councils that were assembled at Tours, in the year 1054,^w for that purpose. In one of these councils the famous Hildebrand, who was afterward Pontiff under the title of Gregory VII. appeared in the character of legate, and opposed the new doctrine with the utmost vehemence. Berenger was also present at this assembly, and overpowered with threats, rather than convinced by reason and argument, he not only abandoned his opinions, but, if we may believe his adversaries, to whose testimony we are confined in this matter, abjured them solemnly, and in consequence of this humbling step, made his peace with the church. This abjuration, however was far from being sincere, and the docility of Berenger was no more than an act of dissimulation; for soon after this period, he taught anew, though with more circumspection and prudence, the opinions he had formerly professed. That his conduct here appears mean and dishonest, is indeed evident; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the transactions of these councils to fix precisely the degree of his crime.

xv. The account of Berenger's perfidy being brought to Nicholas II. the exasperated pontiff summoned him to Rome, A. D. 1058, and terrified him in such a manner in the council held there the following year, that he declared his readiness to embrace and adhere to the doctrines which

^u His most formidable enemy and rival was Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.

^w Other historians mention but one council, and place it in the year 1055.

that venerable assembly should think proper to impose upon his faith. Humbert was accordingly appointed unanimously by Nicolas and the council to draw up a confession of faith for Berenger, who signed it publicly, and confirmed his adherence to it by a solemn oath. In this confession there was, among other tenets equally absurd, the following declaration, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were not only a *sacrament*, but also the *real body and blood of Jesus Christ*; and that this body and blood *were handled by the priests*, and consumed by the faithful, and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth, as other sensible objects are." This doctrine was so monstrously nonsensical, and was such an impudent insult upon the very first principles of reason, that it could have nothing alluring to a man of Berenger's acute and philosophical turn, nor could it possibly become the object of his serious belief, as appeared soon after this odious act of dissimulation; for no sooner was he returned into France, than taking refuge in the countenance and protection of his ancient patrons, he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines he had been obliged to profess at Rome, abjured them solemnly both in his discourse and in his writings, and returned zealously to the profession and defence of his former, which had always been his real opinion. Alexander II. employed the seducing influence of soft and friendly expostulation to engage Berenger to dissemble anew, or in other words, to return from his pretended apostasy; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, and that perhaps in a great measure, because this rebellious son of a superstitious church was powerfully supported in the maintenance of his opinions. Hence the controversy was prolonged, during many years, by a multitude of writings on both sides of the question, and the followers of Berenger increased from day to day.

xvi. Gregory VII. whose enterprising spirit no difficulties nor oppositions could discourage, was no sooner raised to the pontificate, than he undertook to terminate this important controversy, and for that purpose, sent an order to Berenger, in the year 1073, to repair to Rome. Considering the natural character of this pontiff, his conduct in this affair was highly laudable, and discovered a degree of impartiality and candour, which his proceedings upon other occasions gave little reason to expect. He

seems to have had a high esteem for Berenger ; and in the particular points in which he was obliged to oppose him, he did it with all possible mildness, and with a tenderness which showed that he acted rather from a forced compliance with the clamours of his adversaries, than from inclination or principle. In the council that was held at Rome toward the conclusion of the year 1078, he permitted Berenger to draw up a new confession of his faith, and to renounce that which had been composed by Humbert, though it had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicolas II. and a Roman council. The sagacious pontiff perceived clearly the absurdity of Humbert's confession, and therefore revoked it, though it had been rendered sacred by papal authority.* In consequence of this, the persecuted prelate made a second declaration, confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere for the future to the following propositions ; that " the bread laid upon the altar became, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right hand of the Father ; and that the wine placed upon the altar became after consecration, the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ. The pontiff was satisfied with this declaration, which was far from producing the same effect upon the enemies of Berenger ; they showed that it was ambiguous, and so it was in reality ; and they insisted that Berenger should be obliged not only to sign another declaration less vague and equivocal, but should also be required to prove his sincerity by the fiery trial. Gregory refused absolutely this latter demand, and would have equally refused the other, had not his favourable intentions toward Berenger yielded to the importunate clamours of his enemies and persecutors.

XVII. The pontiff therefore granted that part of their demand that related to a new declaration ; and in a council held at Rome, A. D. 1079, had a third confession of faith drawn up, which was somewhat less absurd than the first, though much more harsh than the second, and to which Berenger, after reading and subscribing it in the midst of

* It is worthy of observation, that Gregory VII. whose zeal in extending the jurisdiction, and exalting the authority of the Roman pontiffs, surpassed that of all his predecessors, acknowledged, at least tacitly, by this step, that a pope and council might err, and had erred in effect. How otherwise could he allow Berenger to renounce a confession of faith, that had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicolas II. in a Roman council.

the assembly, was obliged to declare his assent by a solemn oath. By this assent, he professed to believe, "That the bread and wine were, by the mysterious influence of the holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ;" and to remove all grounds of suspicion, to dispel all doubt about the reality of his attachment to this ridiculous system, he added to his second confession^y a solemn declaration that "The bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ, not only in quality of external signs and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality." No sooner had Berenger made this strange declaration, than the pontiff redoubled the marks of esteem which he had formerly shown him, and sent him back to his country loaded with the most honourable testimonies of his liberality and friendship. The double minded doctor did not however think himself bound by this declaration, solemn as it was; and therefore retracted publicly, upon his return to his residence, what he had subscribed as his real sentiments in the council of Rome, and went even so far as to compose an elaborate refutation of the doctrine to which he had been engaged to profess his assent. This new change excited a warm and vehement controversy, in which Lanfranc and Guitmund endeavoured to perplex Berenger with their sophistry, and to overwhelm him with their invectives. Gregory VII. to whose papal thunder the affronted council looked with impatience, seemed neither surprised nor offended by the inconstancy of Berenger, nor did he take any step which could testify the smallest mark of resentment against this pretended apostate. From hence it appears more than probable, that the second confession of Berenger had entirely satisfied that pontiff; and that the violent imposition of the third was by no means agreeable to Gregory, who seems to have adopted, in a great measure, if not wholly, the sentiments of Berenger.^z

^y Mentioned in the preceding section.

^z A remarkable treatise of Berenger's composition, which has been published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. iv. p. 99, 109, will contribute to cast a satisfactory light upon this whole affair, and will fully unfold the real sentiments of Gregory concerning the eucharist. For from this piece it is undoubtedly evident; 1st. That Berenger was esteemed and favoured, in a singular manner by Gregory VII. 2dly. That this pontiff was of the same opinion with Berenger concerning the eucharist; 3dly. That it is certain, at least, that he was for adhering to the words of scripture in this matter;

XVIII. Amidst the clamours of his incensed adversaries,

Berenger's
fate, and the
progress of
his doctrine.

Berenger observed a profound silence, and was prudent enough to return no answer to their bitter and repeated invectives. Fatigued with a controversy, in which the first principles of reason were so impudently insulted, and exhausted by an opposition which he was unable to overcome, he abandoned all his worldly concerns, and retired to the isle of St. Cosme, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he spent the remainder of his days in fasting, prayer, and pious exercises.

and was eager in suppressing all curious researches, and all positive decisions concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the holy sacrament. This appears evidently from the following words, which he addressed to Berenger before the meeting of the last council of Rome, and in which he speaks of his design to consult the Virgin Mary concerning the conduct which it was proper for him to observe in the course of this controversy: "*Ego plane te,*" says the pontiff in the 108th. page of the work, cited in the beginning of this note, "*de Christi sacrificio secundum scripturas bene sentire non dubito; tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his quæ movent recurrere; imposui religioso cuidam amico; a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret, sed verbis commendaret, quorsum me de negotio quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem.*" We see here plainly, that Gregory expresses the strongest propensity to the sentiments of Berenger, not however without some hesitation concerning the manner in which he was to conduct himself, and also concerning the precise doctrine which it was necessary to embrace in relation to the presence of Christ in the eucharist. It was this hesitation which led him to consult the Virgin Mary, whose answer the pontiff gives in the following words; "*A. B. Maria audivit et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat. Hoc tibi manifestare volui, ut securiorem ad nos fiduciam et alacriorem spem habeas.* Here we see an answer of the Virgin pronouncing that it was necessary to adhere to the express declarations of scripture concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament; and whether Gregory was fanatical enough to confide in this answer as real, or rogue enough to forge it, it is still certain, that he confined his belief concerning the point in debate to the language of scripture, and held that the true body and blood of Christ were exhibited in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, though it was neither necessary nor expedient to inquire into the nature or manner of this mysterious presence. 3dly. It appears manifest from the treatise already mentioned, that the assembling of the second council, and the imposition of another confession of faith upon the conscience of Berenger, were measures into which Gregory was forced by the enemies of that ecclesiastic. "*Dejectus est,*" says Berenger, speaking of that pontiff, "*importunitate Paduani scurræ, non episcopi, et Pisani non episcopi, sed antichristi. . . ut permitteret calumniatoribus veritatis in posteriori quadragesimali concilio scriptum a se firmatum in priori mutari.*" 4thly. We see here the true reason why Gregory showed not the smallest mark of resentment against Berenger, when, upon his return to his own country, he violated the promise by which he had so solemnly bound himself in the last council, and refuted the confession to which he had sworn his assent. For the pontiff was very far from adopting the sentiments of those who had drawn up or suggested that monstrous confession, and esteemed it sufficient to helieve with Berenger, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ were exhibited to christians in the eucharist. Hence he let the violent adversaries of his persecuted friend murmur, scribble, hawl, and refute, while he himself observed a profound silence, and persisted in his resolution to put that unhappy man to no farther trouble. It is however proper to observe, that in the same book from whence these particulars are taken, we find Berenger addressing himself, with the utmost humility, to the divine mercy, for the pardon of the crime of dissimulation and perjury he had committed at Rome: and confessing that the fear of death had extorted from him oaths and declarations diametrically opposite to his real sentiments, and engaged him to subscribe to a set of tenets which he abhorred. "*Deus omnipotens,*" says he, "*miserere, fons misericordiarum, tantum sacrilegium agnoscenti.*"

In the year 1088, death put an end to the affliction he suffered in his retirement, from a bitter reflection upon the dissimulation he had been guilty of at Rome, and to the penitential acts of mortification and austerity, to which he seems to have submitted with a design to expiate the enormity of his criminal compliance, and the guilt of his perjury.^a He left behind him in the minds of the people a deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity; and his followers were as numerous as his fame was illustrious.^b There have been disputes among the learned about the real sentiments of this eminent man; yet, notwithstanding the art which he sometimes used to conceal his opinions, and the ambiguity that is often remarkable in his expressions, whoever examines with impartiality and attention such of his writings as are yet extant, will immediately perceive, that he looked upon the bread and wine in the sacrament as no more than the signs or symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour.^c In this opinion Berenger persevered to the last; nor have we any authentic proof of his having departed from it before his death, as some of the Roman catholic writers vainly pretend.^d

^a This will appear evident to such as peruse the treatise of his composition, which we have mentioned in the preceding note, as published in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom. iv. p. 109.

^b The canons of the cathedral of Tournai continue to honour the memory of Berenger by an annual procession, in which they perform a solemn service at his tomb in the isle of St. Cosme. See Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 180.

^c Mabillon, and other Roman catholic writers, as also a few lutheran divines, are of opinion that Berenger denied only the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, while he maintained, at the same time the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. And this opinion will indeed appear plausible to such as consider only the declaration he signed in the first council at Rome, to which he was summoned by Gregory VII. and which he never retracted, without comparing this declaration with the rest of his writings. On the other hand, Usher, Basnage, and almost all the writers of the reformed church maintain, that the doctrine of Berenger was exactly the same with that which Calvin afterward adopted; and I cannot help joining with them in this opinion, when I peruse attentively the following words of his *Letter to Almannus*, published in Martene's *Thesaur.* tom. iv. p. 109. "Constat," says Berenger in express terms, "*verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini rerum in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum, inatritumque spiritualiter manducari.*" These words demonstrate so clearly, that, by the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, Berenger meant no more than a *spiritual presence* that they dispel all doubt about his real sentiments, though upon other occasions he concealed these sentiments under dubious expressions, to deceive his adversaries.

^d It is well known what laborious efforts the Roman catholic writers have employed to persuade us, that Berenger, before his death, abandoned the opinion he had so long and so warmly defended, and returned to the doctrine of the church of Rome concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist. But when we inquire into the reasons on which this assertion is founded, we shall immediately perceive their weakness and insufficiency. They allege, in the first place, that Berenger gave an un-

XIX. It is not rare to find in the history of the church, the most trifling objects exciting the warmest and most vehement controversies. Such was the dispute that arose in France, in the year 1023, between the priests and monks of Limoges, concerning the place that was to be assigned in the public liturgy to Martial the first bishop of that diocese. One party headed

A controversy
concerning
Martial.

count of his doctrine and belief in the council of Bourdeaux, A. D. 1087; and add to this, that the ancient writers applaud his penitential sentiments, and affirm that he died in the catholic faith. In all this however we see no proof of Berenger's retraction. He adhered indeed to the confession of faith, which he had subscribed and adopted in the first of the two Roman councils, to which he had been summoned by Gregory VII. and which that pontiff judged sufficient to clear him from the imputation of heresy; and they who confined their attention to the *literal sense* of the words of that confession, without considering their *spirit*, and the different meanings of which they were susceptible, might easily imagine that Berenger's confession was agreeable to the doctrine of the church. Gregory, in order to pacify matters, confirmed them in this notion; and though he was well informed of Berenger's having retracted the confession which he had signed in the last Roman council before which he appeared, and of his opposing, with the utmost warmth, the opinion he had there so solemnly professed, yet he let the inconstant doctor remain unmolested, and thereby tacitly acquitted him of the crime and the error that were laid to his charge.

It is of the utmost importance to observe here, that the Roman church was not come, in this century, to a fixed determination concerning the *nature and manner* of Christ's presence in the eucharist. This appears most evidently from the three confessions which Berenger signed by the order of three councils, which confessions differed from each other, not only in the terms and the turn of expression, but also in the opinions and doctrines they contained. Pope Nicolas II. and the council he assembled at Rome, A. D. 1059, obliged him to subscribe, as the true and orthodox doctrine of the church, the first of these confessions, which was composed by cardinal Humbert. This confession was however rejected, not only as harsh in point of expression, but also as erroneous and unsound, by Gregory and the two Roman councils, which he had expressly summoned to inquire into that matter; for had Humbert's declaration appeared to the pontiff to be a just expression of the doctrine and sense of the church concerning the eucharist, neither he nor the succeeding councils would have permitted other forms of doctrine to be substituted in its place. Gregory, as we have already seen, was of opinion, that it was highly improper to pry with too much curiosity into the mysteries of the eucharist, and that, laying aside all disputes concerning the *manner* of Christ's presence in that holy institution, it was safest to adhere to the plain words of scripture; and as this was also the opinion of Berenger, and was plainly expressed in his confession of faith, the judicious pontiff pronounced him innocent. But a following council departed from this equitable sentence of Gregory, who, though with much reluctance, was induced to confirm their rigorous decisions; and hence arose a third confession, which was extremely different from the two preceding ones. We may remark by the by, that in this controversy the councils seem plainly to have swayed the pontiffs, since we see the obstinate, the invincible Gregory, yielding against his will to one of these clamorous assemblies. Berenger had no sooner got out of the hands of his enemies than he returned to the second confession, which the pontiff had approved, and publicly declaimed against that which had been imposed upon him in the last Roman council before which he had appeared, without receiving the least mark of disapprobation from Gregory. From this it was natural to conclude, that although he opposed the decree of that council, he adopted nevertheless the opinion of the pope and of the church.

In the account which I have here given of this memorable controversy, I have not only consulted the ancient records relating to that matter, which have been made public, for several of them lie as yet in MSS. in the cabinets of the curious, but have also been assisted by the labours of those among the learned, who have treated that important branch of ecclesiastical history in the most ample and accurate manner; such as first, Franc. de Roye's book, published at Angers in the year 1656; *Ad Can. Ego Berengarius 41. de consecrat. distinct. 2. Ubi nuda, hæresis, et penitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi, et ad Josephi locum de Christo*; a book which is extremely

by Jordan, bishop of Limoges, were for placing him among the *confessors* ; while Hugo, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, maintained that the prelate in question was to be ranked among the *apostles*, and branded with the opprobrious and heretical title of *ebionites*, all such as adhered to the proposal of Jordan. This *momentous* affair was debated first in a council held at Poitiers, in the year 1023, and in another assembled at Paris the year following, in which latter it was determined that Martial was to be honoured with the title of an *apostle*, and that all who refused him this eminent rank were to be considered as *ebionites*, who, as is well known, confined the number of the apostles to twelve, that they might exclude St. Paul from that sacred order. The decree however of this council did not produce the effects that were expected from it ; for it exasperated, instead of calming the zeal and animosity of the contending parties, so that this miserable dispute became daily more universal, and spread like a contagion through all the provinces of France. The matter was at length brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, John XIX. who decided it in favour of the monks ; and in a letter addressed to Jordan and the other bishops of the nation, pronounced Martial worthy of the title and honours of an apostle. This decision produced the most substantial and permanent effects ; for in a council assembled at Limoges, A. D. 1029, Jordan declared his acquiescence in the papal sentence ; in a provincial council at Bourges, two years after, Martial was associated to the company of the apostles with great solemnity, in consequence of the decision of the Roman see, and about the same time this controversy was completely and finally terminated in a numerous council assembled at Limoges, in which the prayers that had been consecrated to the memory of the apostle Martial by the zealous pontiff were publicly recited.^e The warm contenders for the apostleship

curious, and very little known. Mabillon's *Præfat. ad tom. ix. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. seu Sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 4, et Dissert. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et lapsu*, which is published in his *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 456. De Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404, tom. ii. p. 452. The authors of the reformed church, which I have followed in this controversy, are Usserius, *De successionē Ecclesiar. Christianar. in occidente*, cap. vii. § 24, p. 195. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. p. 105, et *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1391. Cas. Oudin, *Dissert. de Doctrina et Scriptis Berengarii in Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 624. There appears more or less a certain spirit of partiality in all these writers ; but this spirit is particularly notorious among those of the church of Rome.

^e See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 372 101. J. Longeval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Galicane*, tom. vii. p. 188. 189. 231. The benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christi-*

of Martial asserted, that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ; from whence they concluded that he had an equal title with Paul and Barnabas to the honour of an apostle.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE form of public worship, which was established at Rome, had not as yet been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world. Gregory VII. employed all his diligence, activity, and zeal in this enterprise, as appears from several passages in his letters, and he perhaps alone was equal to the execution of such an arduous attempt. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the despotic attempts of the popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient *gothic* liturgy^f with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at Rome. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1063, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures,^g and to conquer the aversion which the Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for Gregory VII. who without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and en-

ana, tom. ii. *Append. Documentor* p. 162, have published the *Letter of Jordan to Pope Benedict VIII. against the apostleship of Martial*. The decrees of the councils of Bourges and Limoges concerning this matter are published by Labbe, in his *Biblioth. Nova Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 766. Mabillon has given an ample account of Ademar, a monk of St. Cybar, the first promoter of this ridiculous controversy, in his *Annal. Ord. S. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 318, and among the original papers subjoined to that volume, has published a letter wrote by that monk in favour of the apostleship of Martial. See also the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 301.

^f See Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10. Jo Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 220, opp. Petr. le Brun, *Explication des Cérémonies de la Masse*, tom. ii. *Diss.* v. p. 272.

^g Petr. de Marca, *Histoire de Berne*, liv. ii. cap. ix.

treated Sancius and Alphonso, the kings of Arragon and Castile, until fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontiff, they consented to abolish the gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first who complied with the request of the pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of Castile employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the gothic. This first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which however was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service.^h

11. The zeal of the Roman pontiffs for introducing an uniformity of worship into the western churches, may be in some measure justified; but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolutely inexcusable. While indeed the Latin language was in general use among the western nations, or at least was unknown to but a very small number, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the church. But when the decline of the Roman empire drew on by degrees the extinction of its language in several places, and its decay in all the western provinces, it became just and reasonable that each people should serve the Deity in the language they understood, and which was peculiar to them. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no sort of influence upon the Roman pontiffs, who neither in this nor in the following centuries, could be persuaded to change the established custom, but persisted, on the contrary, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining

Divine worship performed in an unknown and foreign tongue.

^h Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xi. p. 216. Le Brun, *loc. citat.* p. 202. Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 237, 241, 246.

the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood by the people.ⁱ This strange conduct has been variously accounted for by different writers, who have tortured their inventions to find out its secret reasons, and have imagined many that seem extremely improbable and far fetched. A superstitious and extravagant veneration for whatever carried the hoary aspect of a remote antiquity, was undoubtedly the principal reason that rendered the pontiffs unwilling to abolish the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship. The same absurd principle produced a similar effect in the eastern churches; thus the Egyptian christians perform their religious service in the language of the ancient Copts, the jacobites and the nestorians in the Syriac, and the Abyssinians in the old Æthiopic, though all these languages have been long since obsolete, and are thereby become absolutely unintelligible to the multitude.^k

III. It would be tedious to enumerate, in a circum-
Ceremonies multiplied.stantial manner, the new inventions that were imposed upon christians, in this century, under the specious titles of piety and zeal, by the superstitious despotism of an imperious clergy. It would be also endless to mention the additions that were made to former inventions; the multiplication, for example, of the rites and ceremonies that were used in the worship of saints, relics, and images, and the new directions that were administered to such as undertook pilgrimages, or other superstitious services of that nature. We shall only observe, that during the whole of this century, all the European nations were most diligently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches.^l Nor will this appear surprising when we consider, that in the preceding century, all Europe was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the *day of judgment* was at hand, and that the world was approaching to its final dissolution; for among the other effects of this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair, from a notion that they would

ⁱ Usserius, *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* ab Hen. Whartono edita et aucta, Londini, 1690, in 4to.

^k See Euseb. Renaudot, *Dissertat. de Liturgiis Oriental. origine et antiquitate*, cap. vi. p. 40.

^l Glaber. Rodolphus, *Hist. lib. iii. cap. iv.* in Duchesne's *Scriptor. Franc.* tom. iv. p. 217. "Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum basilicas."

soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions were removed; things immediately put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the nestorians and monophysites, who resided in Asia Ancient sects. and Egypt under the mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century, neither extremely prosperous, nor absolutely miserable. The case of the manichæans, or paulicians, whom Manichæans. the Grecian emperors had banished from the eastern provinces into Bulgaria and Thrace, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had to sustain with the Greeks, who persecuted and oppressed them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks, as usually happens upon like occasions, laid the blame of their violent measures upon the manichæans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the declared and inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire.^m This however is by no means to be received as an impartial state of the case; at least, it appears from many circumstances, that if the manichæans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the violent and injurious treatment they had received from them. The Grecian pontiffs and clergy were far from being destitute of the odious spirit of persecution; and it is certain that the emperors, instigated and set on by them, had exhausted the patience of the paulicians by repeated cruelties and vexations, and alienated their affections by inflicting upon them, without interruption, a variety of punishments, such as banishment,

^m Anna Comuena *Alexiados*, lib. v. p. 105, lib. vi. p. 124, 126, 145.

confiscation of goods, and other such marks of severity and violence.

Alexius Comnenus, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial sceptre, perceiving that the manichæans were not to be vanquished, without the greatest difficulty, by the force of arms, and observing also that their numbers increased from day to day, both in Thrace and in the adjacent provinces, had recourse to the power of reason and argument to conquer their obstinacy, and spent whole days at Philippopolis, in disputing with the principal doctors of that pernicious sect. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his learned associates; nor is this to be so much wondered at, since their demonstrations were accompanied and enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the manichæans as retracted their errors, and returned to the bosom of the Greek church, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations; while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were inhumanly condemned to perpetual imprisonment.ⁿ

11. Many of the paulicians, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from Bulgaria and Thrace, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into Italy; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of Europe, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies, who had adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterward persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontiffs.^o It is difficult to fix the precise period of time when

An account of
the paulicians
in Europe.

ⁿ There is an ample and circumstantial account of this controversy between the emperor and the manichæans in the work mentioned in the preceding note, lib. xiv. p. 337.

^o See Lud. Ant. Muratori *Antiquitat. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 83. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 31. Thom. Aug. Richinii *Dissertatio de Catharis*, which is prefixed to the *Summa B. Monetæ contra Catharos*, p. 17, 18. We might also refer, upon this occasion, to Glab. Rodulph. *Histor.* lib. iii. cap. viii., to Matth. Paris, and other ancient writers. Certain Italian authors, and among others, Richini, seem unwilling to acknowledge, that the paulicians arrived first in Italy, and proceeded from thence into the other provinces of Europe; and maintain, on the contrary, that their first settlement was in France, and that from thence they came into Italy. These writers look upon it as ignominious to their country, to be considered as the first European nation which fostered such a pernicious and impious sect, in its bosom. Be that as it may

the paulicians began to take refuge in Europe ; it is however undoubtedly certain from the most authentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that sect were about the middle of this century, settled in Lombardy, Insubria, and principally at Milan ; and that many of them led a wandering life in France, Germany, and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the multitude, by their sanctimonious looks, and the uncommon air of piety, which they put on with much affectation. In Italy they were called *paterini*, and *cathari*, or rather *gazari*, which latter appellation the Germans have preserved, with a small alteration only, which was proper to adapt it to the genius of their language.^p In France they were called *albigenses*, from the town of Alby, in the Upper Languedoc, in Latin, *albigia*.^q They were likewise called *bulgarians*, in France, because they came from Bulgaria, and because the head of their sect resided in that country ; as also *publicans*, which was probably a corrupt pronounciation, of *paulicians*, and *boni homines*, or *good men*, with several other titles and epithets.^r

their hypothesis is favoured by Petr. de Marca himself, a Frenchman, who, in his *Histoire de Berne*, livr. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728, declares it as his opinion, that the paulicians joined themselves to the Gallic armies that returned from the *holy war* in Palestine, by the province of Bulgaria, and were thus conducted into France. But that learned author alleges no proof to support this opinion ; it appears, on the contrary, from the records of the *Inquisition of Thoulouse*, published by Limborch, and from other authentic pieces, that the paulicians settled first in Sicily, Lombardy, Liguria, and the Milanese, and sent from thence their doctors and missionaries into France. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, 69, et *passim*. We learn also from the *Code of Thoulouse*, that the French paulicians, who were called *albigensis*, had no bishop to consecrate their *anciani*, such was the title they gave to their presbyters ; so that such of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of presbyters, were obliged to repair to Italy, in order to their being regularly installed.

^p The title of *paterini*, which was given to this sect in Italy, has been already explained in the second chapter of the second part of this century, sect. 13. note r. As to the term *catharus*, it was undoubtedly, when applied to the paulicians, the same with *gazarus*, as I have elsewhere demonstrated. See *Histor. Ord. Apostol.* p. 367. The country which bore in this century the name of Gazaria, was what we now call the Lesser Tartary.

^q That the paulicians were called *albigenses* in France, and were a sect entirely distinct from the *waldenses* and other heretics, appears evidently from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, already mentioned. They received this name from a town in Aquitain, called Albigia, or Alby, where their errors were condemned in a council held in the year 1176. See Chatel, *Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305. It is therefore a mistake, to consider the *albigenses* as a sect so called from Alby's being the place of their birth, their residence, or the seat of their principal assembly ; since that name was given them for no other reason than their having been condemned in a council held in that town. There were indeed several paulicians among the various sects of dissenters from the church of Rome, that inhabited the country about Alby ; and it is also true, that the title of *albigenses* is usually extended to all the heretics, of whatever sect or denomination they were, who dwelt in these parts.

^r The learned Du Fresnoy, in his *Glossarium Latin. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1338, has proved in an ample manner, that the paulicians were called in France, *bulgares*, and by a corrupt pronounciation of that word *bougres*. The same author, in his *Observations ad Villeharduini Historiam Constantinopolit.* p. 169, has fully demonstrated, that the *James popolicarii* and *publicarii*, that were imposed upon these manichæans, were no

III. The first religious assembly which the paulicians had formed in Europe, is said to have been discovered at Orleans, in the year 1017, under the reign of Robert. A certain Italian lady is said to have been at the head of this sect; its principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning, among whom Lisosius and Stephen held the first rank; and it was composed in general of a considerable number of citizens, who were far from being of the meanest condition. The impious doctrines professed by these canons, were discovered by a certain priest named Heribert, and by Arifastus, a Norman nobleman, upon which Robert assembled a council at Orleans, and employed the most effectual methods that could be thought of to bring these heretics to a better mind. But all his endeavours were to no purpose; this pernicious sect adhered obstinately to their principles, and hence they were at length condemned to be burnt alive.*

It is difficult to come to a fixed determination with respect to the character and doctrine of these people; for when we examine matters attentively, we find that even their enemies acknowledged the sincerity of their piety; that they were blackened by accusations which were evidently false; and that the opinions for which they were punished, differ widely from the manichæan system.† As far as we can see into the case, it appears to us, that these pretended manichæans of Orleans were a set of *mystics*, who looked with contempt upon all external worship, rejected all rites and ceremonies, and even the christian sacraments, as destitute of any, even the least spiritual efficacy or virtue, placed the whole of religion in the internal contemplation of God, and the elevation of the soul to di-

more than a corruption of the term *pauliciani* ill pronounced. The appellation of *boni homines*, or *los bos homes*, as the southern French spoke at that time, was a title which the paulicians attributed to themselves. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanæ*. p. 22, 84, 95. &c. and more especially p. 131.

* The accounts that the ancient writers have given of these heretics, are collected by Boulay, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 364. Charl. Plessis D'Argentre. *Collection. judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 5. Jo. Launoy, *De Scholis celebrioribus Caroli Magni*, cap. xxiv. p. 90. The history of the synod of Orleans, in which this sect was condemned, is given by Luc. Dacherius, in his *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 604.

† Basnage, in his *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. period iv. p. 97, and in his *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1388, pleads the cause of the canons of Orleans; but this learned and worthy man seems to have been carried too far by his zeal for augmenting the number of those who have been martyrs to the truth.

vine and celestial things; and in their philosophical speculations concerning God, the Trinity, and the human soul, soared above the comprehension of the age in which they lived. A like set of men proceeded in vast numbers out of Italy in the following ages, spread like an inundation through all the European provinces, and were known in Germany under the name of the *brethren of the free spirit*, while they were distinguished in other countries by the appellation of *beghards*.^a

IV. We find in history another branch of this numerous sect, whose errors were not accompanied with the crimes that were laid to the charge of their brethren, and who were converted by a pathetic discourse that was addressed to them by Gerhard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, in an assembly of the clergy that was held in the last of these two cities, A. D. 1030. These honest *mystics*, who were equally remarkable for their docility and their ignorance, had received the doctrine they professed from the Italians, and particularly from a certain chimerical doctor, whose name was Gundulf. They maintained in general, according to their own confession, that the whole of religion consisted in the study of practical piety, and in a course of action conformable to the divine laws, and treated all external modes of worship with the utmost contempt. Their particular tenets may be reduced to the following heads. 1. They rejected baptism, and in a more especial manner, the baptism of infants, as a ceremony that was in no respect essential to salvation. 2. They rejected for the same reason the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 3. They denied that the churches were endowed with a greater degree of sanctity than private houses, or that they were more adapted to the worship of God than any other place. 4. They affirmed that the altars were to be considered in no other light than as heaps of stones, and were therefore unworthy of any marks of veneration or regard. 5. They disapproved of the use of incense and consecrated oil in services of a religious nature. 6. They looked upon the use of bells in the church-

Another
branch of that
sect converted
by Gerhard.

^a We shall have occasion to give a fuller account of these fanatics in the history of the thirteenth century, in which they were first drawn from their obscurity, and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. It is however certain, that they had a clandestine existence long before that period, and that they propagated their tenets secretly in several places. Their doctrine resembles, in some particulars, that of the manichæans; and hence it was natural for the ignorant divine, of the age in which they lived, to consider them as a branch of that pernicious sect.

es, as an intolerable superstition. 7. They denied that the establishment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ecclesiastical dignities, was of divine institution, and went so far as to maintain that the appointment of stated ministers in the church was entirely needless. 8. They affirmed that the institution of funeral rites was an effect of sacerdotal avarice, and that it was a matter of indifference whether the dead were buried in the churches, or in the fields. 9. They looked upon those voluntary punishments, called *penance*, which were so generally practised in this century, as unprofitable and absurd. 10. They denied that the sins of departed spirits could be, in any measure, atoned for by the celebration of *masses*, the distribution of alms to the poor, or a *vicarious penance*;^w and they treated, of consequence, the doctrine of purgatory as a ridiculous fable. 11. They considered marriage as a pernicious institution, and absurdly condemned, without distinction, all connubial bonds.^x 12. They looked upon a certain sort of veneration and worship as due to the *apostles* and *martyrs*, from which however they excluded such as were only *confessors*, in which class they comprehended the *saints*, who had not suffered death for the cause of Christ, and whose bodies, in their esteem, had nothing more sacred than any other human carcass. 13. They declared the use of instrumental music in the churches, and other religious assemblies, superstitious and unlawful. 14. They denied that the cross on which Christ suffered was in any respect more sacred than other kinds of wood, and of consequence, refused to pay to it the smallest degree of religious worship. 15. They not only refused all acts of adoration to the images of Christ, and of the saints, but were also for having them removed out of the churches. 16. They were shocked at the subordination and distinctions that were established among the clergy, and at the different degrees of authority that were conferred upon the different members of that sacred body.^y

When we consider the corrupt state of religion in this

^w By a *vicarious penance*, is understood the course of mortification and voluntary suffering, that one person undergoes in order to procure absolution for another.

^x This eleventh article is scarcely credible, at least as it is here expressed. It is more reasonable to suppose that these mystics did not absolutely condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity and virtue.

^y See an account of the synod of Arras in Dacherius, *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 607—624. Car. Plessis D'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 7.

century, and particularly the superstitious notions that were generally adopted in relation to outward ceremonies, the efficacy of penance and the sanctity of churches, relics, and images, it will not appear surprising, that many persons of good sense and solid piety, running from one extreme to another, fell into the opinions of these mystics, in which, among several absurdities, there were many things plausible and specious, and some highly rational.

v. A controversy of a much more subtle and difficult nature, arose in France about the year 1089; and had for its principal author Roscellinus, a canon of Compeigne, a profound dialectician, and the most eminent doctor of the sect called *nominalists*, which we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history. This subtle doctor held it inconceivable and impossible, that the Son of God should take on the human nature alone, i. e. without the Father and the Holy Ghost becoming incarnate also, unless by the three persons in the godhead were meant three distinct *objects*, or natures existing separately, such as three angels, or three distinct spirits, though endowed with one will, and acting by one power. When it was insinuated to Roscellinus, that this manner of reasoning led directly to *tritheism*, or the doctrine of three gods, he answered boldly, that the existence of three gods might be asserted with truth,² were not the

The controversy set on foot by Roscellinians.

² Such is the account given by John, the accuser of this metaphysical ecclesiastic, in a letter to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, published by Baluzius, in his *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 478. The same account is confirmed by Anselm himself, in the book *De Fide Trinitatis*, which he wrote against Roscellinus, see *Oper.* tom. i. p. 41, 43, and lib. ii. *Epistolar.* ep. xxxv. p. 335, tom. ii. opp. And also by Fulco, bishop of Beauvais as may be seen in the second book of the *Epistles* of Anselm, ep. xli. lib. ii. tom. ii. opp. p. 357. It must however be considered, that the learned men now mentioned were the inveterate enemies of Roscellinus, and that they perhaps comprehended his meaning imperfectly, or perverted it willingly. Several circumstances prove that some of his adversaries were in one or the other of these two cases. Anselm himself furnishes sufficient grounds for this suspicion, since, notwithstanding his aversion to the *nominalists*, of whom Roscellinus was the chief, he grants, in his book *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. iii. p. 44, that the opinion of his antagonist may be admitted, or at least tolerated, in a certain sense; and even frequently intimates, that he is not perfectly assured of his understanding fully the meaning of Roscellinus, and that he believes the sentiments of that ecclesiastic less pernicious than his accusers have represented them. "Sed forsitan," says Anselm, "ipse Roscellinus, non dicit, sicut sunt tre anima aut tres Angeli; sed ille, qui mihi ejus inдавit questionem, hanc ex suo posuit similitudinem; sed solummodo tres personas affirmat esse tres res, sine additamento alicujus similitudinis." The same Anselm, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xli. p. 357, declares that the account which he had received of the opinions of Roscellinus appears to him extremely dubious "Quod tamen," says he, "absque dubitate credere non possum." From all this it is evident, that Anselm was far from having an entire confidence in the equity and impartiality of the accusers of Roscellinus, or from looking upon that ecclesiastic as so black as his enemies had endeavoured to make him.

As to the merits of the cause, it appears manifest to me, that this subtle dispute was

expression harsh and contrary to the phraseology generally received. He was however obliged to retract this error in a council assembled at Soissons, in the year 1092; but he resumed it when the council was dismissed, and the danger over. Persecuted anew on account of his doctrine, he took refuge in England, and excited there divisions and contests of another kind, by maintaining, among other things, that persons born out of lawful wedlock, ought to be deemed incapable of admission to holy orders. This doctrine, which was by no means suited to the times, procured Roscellinus many enemies, and was in a great measure the occasion of his involuntary removal from England. Banished thence, he returned to France, and taking up his residence at Paris, he fomented again the old dispute concerning the Trinity. This however succeeded not according to his hopes, but exposed him to much trouble and vexation from the redoubled attacks of his adversaries, who pressed hard on him from all quarters. Fatigued with their persecutions, he retired at last to Aquitain, where he acquired universal esteem by his eminent piety, and passed the rest of his days in tranquillity and repose.^a

a consequence of the warm controversy that subsisted in this century between the *realists* and the *nominalists*. The former attacked the latter by the dangerous conclusions that seemed deducible from their principles, and reasoned thus: "If, as your doctrine supposes *universal substances* are no more than mere *sounds* or *denominations*, and the whole science of logic is only conversant about words, it must of necessity follow that the three persons in the godhead, are only three *names*, and not three *realities* or *things*. We deny the conclusion, replied Roscellinus; the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not placed by us in the rank of *denominations*, but in the class of *realities* or *things*." The subtle doctor here, as all must more or less do after him, by avoiding Scylla, fell into Charybdis, and was charged by his adversaries with the introduction of tritheism, by holding an opinion, that supposed the existence of three divine substances. Were any of the writings of Roscellinus now extant, they would help us no doubt to form a juster notion of this controversy than we can have at present.

^a Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 485, 489. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 262. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 358. Anton. Pagi *Critica in Baronium ad A. 1094*, tom. iv. p. 317. Jaques Longuebal, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. viii p. 59.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. A CONSIDERABLE part of Europe lay yet involved in pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was therefore in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. Boleslaus, duke of Poland, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and Otho, bishop of Bamberg, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprise; for, upon his return into Germany, many of those whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into Pomerania, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church,

Several of the northern provinces received the light of the gospel.

and to establish it upon solid foundations.^a From this period, the christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received Adalbert, or Albert, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of Pomerania.

11. Of all the northern princes in this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than Waldemar I. king of Denmark, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the pagan nations, such as the Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason, rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of Rugen, which lies in the neighbourhood of Pomerania, submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were in reality no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by Absalom, archbishop of Lunden, a man of a superior genius, and of a most excellent character in every respect, whose eminent merit raised him to the summit of power, and engaged Waldemar to place him at the head of affairs.^b

^a See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pars ii. p. 34, where we find the life of Otho, who, A. D. 1169, was canonized by Clement III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349. Dan Crameri, *Chronicon. Eccles. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of Otho, written in the German language by Christopher Schotgen, and published at Stargard, in the year 1724. Add to these, Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123, 146, 323.

^b Saxo Grammaticus, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239. Helmoldus, *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234, and Henr. Bangertus, *ad h. l. Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 404.

☞ Beside the historians here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim, we refer the curious reader

III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated among the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen. They were <sup>The Finland-
ers.</sup> also a fierce and savage people who lived by plunder, and infested Sweden in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by Eric IX. and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise time when this conquest was completed;^c but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance.^d The founder and ruler of this new church was Henry, archbishop of Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event procured Henry the honours of sainthood and martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by Pope Adrian IV.^e

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The <sup>The Livoni-
ans.</sup> first missionary who attempted the conversion of that savage people, was Mainard, a regular canon of St. Augustin, in the monastery of Sigeburg, who, toward the conclusion of this century,^f travelled to Livonia, with a com-

er to an excellent history of Denmark. written in French by M. Mallet, professor at Copenhagen. In the first volume of this history, the ingenious and learned author has given a very interesting account of the progress of Christianity in the northern parts of Europe, and a particular relation of the exploits of Absalom, who was at the same time archbishop, general, admiral, and prime minister, and who led the victorious Danes to battle by sea and land, without neglecting the cure of souls, or diminishing in the least his pious labours in the propagation of the gospel abroad, and its maintenance and support at home.

^c Most writers, with Baronius, place this event in the year 1151. Different however from this is the Chronology of Vastovius and Oernhelmius, the former placing it, A. D. 1150, and the latter, A. D. 1157.

^d Oernhelmii *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13. Jo. Loeenii *Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76, ed. Francof. Erlandi *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii. Vastovii *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65.

^e Vastovii *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vita Sanctorum regni Suegothici*, p. 62. *Vitis Benevii Monumenta Ecclesie Suegothica*, pars i. p. 33.

^f In the year 1186.

pany of merchants of Bremen, who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation; whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Urban III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainard, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the see of Livonia. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in Saxony, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. Albert, canon of Bremen, became the third bishop of Livonia, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered Livonia, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, drawn out of Saxony, and encamping at Riga, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontiff, Innocent III. the *military order of the knights sword bearers*,^g who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism.^h New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights sword bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhausted at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. But while they received the blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time, deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circum-

^g *Equestris Ordo Militum Ensiferorum.*

^h See Henr. Leonh. Schurzleischii *Historia Ordinis Ensiferorum Equitum*, Witteberg, 1701 8vo.

stances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil.ⁱ

v. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Slavonians, ^{The Slavonians.} a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious missionaries, who united their efforts in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes upon the light of the gospel. Henry, duke of Saxony, surnamed the Lion, distinguished himself, in a particular manner, by the ardour which he discovered in the execution of this pious design, as well as by the wise methods he employed to render it successful. Among other measures that were proper for this purpose, he restored from their ruins, and endowed richly, three bishoprics^k that had been ravaged and destroyed by these barbarians; viz. the bishoprics of Ratzebourg and Schwerin, and that of Oldenbourg, which was afterward transplanted to Lubec. The most eminent of the christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Slavonians, was Vicelinus, a native of Hamelen, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Falderen, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life, amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true

ⁱ See the *Origines Livoniæ seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio, at Francfort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus, and enriched with ample and learned observations and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

^k Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by Fleury, who asserts that it was Hartwick, archbishop of Bremen, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated Vicelinus, bishop of Oldenbourg: and that having done this without addressing himself to Henry, that prince seized the tithes of Vicelinus, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince, and the worthy bishop. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. livr. lxxix. p. 665, 668*, edit. Bruxelles. Fleury, in this and other parts of his history, shows that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of Germany, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. Mosheim produces for his account of the matter, are the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16, 19, 34, 55, 61, 63, 72, 82, with the celebrated *preface* of Scheidius, § xiv. p. 41. Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 230. Jo. Ern. de Westphalen, *Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens*, tom. ii. p. 1998.

^l That is, from the year 1124. to the year 1154, in which he died.

wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce and untractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnishes proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations.^m

vi. It is needless to repeat here the observation we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of Christ, not so much in reality, as in outward appearance. [They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery, and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of paganism.] The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of Christ, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions, opposed this coalition. Beside, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems

The judgment
we ought to
form of these
conversions.

^m There is a particular and ample account of Vicelinus in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom.ii. p. 910, and in the *Hamburg.* of Lambeeus, lib.ii p. 12 See also upon this subject the *Origines Neomonsister et Bordesholmens.* of the most learned and industrious Joh. Ern. de Westphalen, which are published in the second tome, of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344, and the *preface* to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of Vicelinus well engraven.

to have been this, that the leading views of these christian heralds, and propagators of the faith, a small number excepted, were rather turned toward the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than toward the true conversion of these savage pagans, that conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

VII. A great revolution in Asiatic Tartary, which borders upon Cathay, changed the face of things in that distant region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the christian cause. Toward the conclusion of the preceding century, died Koiremchan, otherwise called Kenchan, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of Asia; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with such uncommon valour and success, by a nestorian priest, whose name was John, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprising *presbyter* as its monarch. This was the famous Prester John, whose territory was for a long time considered by the Europeans as a second paradise, as the seat of opulence and complete felicity. As he was a *presbyter* before his elevation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him *Presbyter John*, even when he was seated on the throne;^a but his kingly name was Ungchan. The high

The state of affairs in Tartary changes in favour of the christians.

^a The account I have here given of this famous *presbyter*, commonly called Prester John, who was for a long time considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of contemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit; such as William of Tripoli, see Dufresne's *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Stⁱ a Joinvillio scriptam*, p. 59, as also a certain bishop of Gabala, mentioned by Otto Frising. *Chronie.* lib. vii. cap. xxviii. See also Guillaume Rubruquis, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 86, in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by father Bergeron, and Alberic in *Chronico. ad A.* 1165. and 1170, in Leibnitz's *Accessionibus Historicis*, tom. ii. p. 345, 355. It is indeed surprising that such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have been advanced concerning Prester John, and the place of his residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence, and from a passion for the *marvellous*, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, John II. king of Portugal, employed Pedro Covilliano in a laborious inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of Prester John. The curious voyager undertook this task, and for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into Abyssinia; and observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, many circumstances that resembled the accounts which at that time prevailed in Europe concerning Prester John, he persuaded himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his researches.

notions the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor, Frederic I. and to Emanuel, emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendour of his riches, and the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed, and the nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or as others think, his brother, whose name was David, though, in common discourse, he was also called Prester John, as his predecessor had been. The reign of David was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; Genghizkan, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories toward the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

VIII. The new kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been erected by the *holy warriors of France* toward the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was however but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into Europe, and the christian chiefs that remained in Palestine divided into factions, and advancing, every one his private

The affairs of the christians in Palestine in a declining state.

His opinion gained easily credit in Europe, which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism. See Morinus, *De sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus*, part ii. p. 367. But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that Prester John reigned in Asia, though they still continued to dispute about the situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances. There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent learning in our times, who maintain that John was emperor of the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese opinion, though destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other abovementioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See Euseb. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223, 337. Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais*. tom. i. p. 58, and tom. iii. p. 57. Henr. le Grand, *Diss. de Johanne Presbytero* in Lobo's *Voyage de Abyssinie*, tom. i. p. 295.

interest, without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harassed and exhausted the christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when Atabeck Zenghi,^c after a long siege, made himself master of the city of Edessa, and threatened Antioch with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more toward Europe. They accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain, the assistance of the European princes; and requested that a new army of cross bearing champions might be sent to support their tottering empire in the holy land. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other christian princes to execute a new expedition into Palestine.

ix. This new expedition was not however resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the famous abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to those disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic *preached the cross*, i. e. the *crusade*, in France and Germany with great ardour and success; and in the grand parliament assembled at Vezelai, A. D. 1146, at which Lewis VII. king of France, with his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility were present, Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such assurance that he had a

The crusade renewed.

^c Atabeck was a title of honour given by the sultans to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin authors who have wrote the history of this holy war, and of whom Bongarsius has given us a complete list, call this Atabeck Zenghi. Sanguinus See Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word Atabeck. p. 142.

divine commission to foretell its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into Palestine. Conrad III. emperor of Germany, was for some time unmoved by the exhortations of Bernard; but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for Palestine, to which they were to march by different roads. But before their arrival in the holy land, the greatest part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the mahometans themselves. Lewis VII. left his kingdom, A. D. 1147, and in the month of March of the following year, he arrived at Antioch, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. Conrad set out also in the year 1147, in the month of May; and in November following, he arrived at Nice, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own, by calamities of various kinds. From Nice the two princes proceeded to Jerusalem, A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into Europe, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the christian chiefs in Palestine. Nor was it more ineffectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants.^p

x. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the christians in Palestine entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes

The kingdom
of Jerusalem
overturned.

^p Beside the historians enumerated by Bongarsius, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 392, 404, 407, 417, 451. Jac. Gervasii *Histoire de l'Abbe Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104, 128, 173, 190, 239. This was the famous Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, who had seconded the exhortations of Bernard in favour of the *crusade*, and whom Lewis appointed regent of France during his absence. Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86. Joh. Jac. Masceovius, *De rebus imperii sub Conrado IV*

laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders. Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan of Egypt and Syria;^a and the most valiant chief of whom the mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the christians with the utmost valour and success: took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in a fatal battle fought near Tibérias, A. D. 1187; and in the course of the same year, reduced Jerusalem itself under his dominion.^r The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. These succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem.

x1. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had
A third crusade undertaken.
 innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the

^a Saladin, so called by the western writers, Salah'addin by the orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of Egypt, when he undertook the siege of Jerusalem, but had usurped the sovereign power in that country, and had also added to his dominions, by right of conquest, several provinces of Syria.

^r See the *Life of Saladin*, by Bohao'edin Ebn Sheddad, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at Leyden, in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor Albert Schultens, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article Salah'addin, p. 742, and Magny's *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289. [¶] But above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians in the Modern Part of the Universal History*.

Lesser Asia, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through Selcucia. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loss however of such an able chief, dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country.¹

xii. The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus, king of France, and lion hearted Richard, king of England. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war, and transports,² arrived in Palestine, in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were pretty successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acca, or Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into Europe, in the month of July, 1191, leaving however behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine. After his departure, the king of England pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of Y'affa³ and Cæsarea. Deserted however by the French

¹ Maimbourg, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, and Mari'ni, in his *Hist. du xii. Siecle*, say, that Frederic perished in the Cydnus, a river in Cilicia. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions given of the river Saleph by several learned geographers, and among others by Roger the Annalist, it appears that the Saleph and the Cydnus were the same river under different names.

² See an ample and satisfactory account of this unhappy campaign, in the *Life of Frederic I.* written in German by Henry count Bunau, p. 278, 293, 309.

³ The learned authors of the *Modern Universal History* tell us, that Philip arrived in Palestine with a supply of men, money, &c. on board six ships, whereas Renaudot mentions one hundred sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of Richard consisted of one hundred and fifty large ships, beside galleys, &c.

⁴ More commonly known by the name of Joppa.

and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months. and as many days, and soon evacuated palestine with his whole army.^x Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France, and Germany, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn to the affairs of the christians in the holy land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the christians and the mahometans, gave rise to *three famous military orders*, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good.^y The first of these orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated in that city to St. John the *Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at Jerusalem. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so prodigiously increased by the liberality of several princes, and the pious donations of such opulent persons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that Raymond du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the mahometans at his own expense, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. Balduin II. to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprise was solemnly approved of and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surprised with the strange transformation of a devout fraternity, who had lived remote from the

Institution
of the mili-
tary order of
knighthood.

^x Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426 Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion. Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 255.

^y The writers, who have given the history of these three orders, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465, but his enumeration is not complete.

noise and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the christian cause; in the second were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third the *serving brethren*, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of their resolution and valour, and acquired immense opulence by their heroic achievements. When Palestine was irrecoverably lost, the *knights* passed into the isle of Cyprus; they afterward made themselves masters of the isle of Rhodes, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being at length driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor, Charles V. a grant of the island of Malta, where their chief, or grand commander, still resides.²

xiv. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Balduin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, or St. Omer, as some will have it, and seven other persons, whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard.³ These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit Jerusalem, against the insults and barbarity of the mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their pri-

² The best and most recent history of this order, is that which was composed by Vertot at the request of the knights of Malta; it was first published at Paris and afterward at Amsterdam, in five volumes, 8vo. in the year 1732. See also Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72.

³ See Mabillon. *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159.

vileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century.^b

xv. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of Acca, or Ptolemais, though there are historians adventurous enough to seek its origin, which they place at Jerusalem, in a more remote period. During the long and tedious siege of Acca, several pious and charitable merchants of Bremen and Lubec, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontiff, Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment,^c with bread and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours.

The teutonic order.

^b See Matthew Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 56, for an account of the commencement of this order. See also Putean, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with considerable additions, at Brussels, in 4to. in the year 1751. Nic Gurtleri *Historia Templariorum Militum*, Amsterdam. 1691, in 8vo.

^c This garment was a white mantle with a black cross

But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The teutonic knights, after their retreat from Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Conrland, and Semigallen: but in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon Germany, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories.^d

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE progress of Christianity in the west, had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of Jesus. The Jews and pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. The state of things was somewhat different in the northern provinces. The pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unrelenting and merciless fury.^e It is true, the christian kings and princes, who

The state of the church in the western and northern provinces.

^d See Raymundi Duellii *Histor. Ord. Teutonici*, published in folio at Vienna in 1727. Petri Dusburg, *Chronicon. Prussiæ*, published in 4to. at Jenn, in the year 1679, by Christoph. Hartknochius. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140. *Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici* in Anton. Matthæi *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621, 658, ed. nov. *Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in Petr. a Ludewig *Reliquiis Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 43.
^e Helmold, *Chronie Sclavorum*, lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88, cap. xxxv. p. 89, cap. xl. p. 99. Lindenbrogi *Scriptor. Septentrional.*, p. 195, 196, 201. Petri Lambecii *Res Hamburg* lib. i. p. 26.

lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass and weaken them by perpetual wars and incursions, until at length they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their superstitions.

11. The writers of this century complain grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the christians in the east, nor can we ^{Its sufferings in the east.} question the truth of what they relate concerning this terrible persecution. But they pass over in silence the principal reasons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the christians were the first aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear so surprising, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had a right, by the laws of war, to repel by force the violent invasion of their country, and the christians could not expect, without being chargeable with the most fountless impudence, that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their misguided zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive their insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, though with sorrow, that the christians did not content themselves with making war upon the mahometans in order to deliver Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces, through which they passed, with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then so surprising to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing so new and so extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated moreover by the calamities of a religious war, carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the christians who resided in Palestine, as professing

the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

iii. The rapid and amazing victories of the great Genghizkan, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the christians in the northern parts of Asia, toward the conclusion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all Asia, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms. David, or Ungchan, who according to some, was the son, or as others will have it, the brother, but who was certainly the successor of the famous Prester John, and was himself so called in common discourse, was the first victim that Genghizkan sacrificed to his boundless ambition. He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where David lost, at the same time, his kingdom and his life.^f The princes who governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of Cathay, fell in their turn before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered tributary; nor did Genghizkan stop here, but proceeding into Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place.^g From this period the christian cause lost much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by Prester John and his successor David, and continued to decline and lose ground from day to day, until at length it sunk entirely under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of Ma-

^f The Greek, Latin, and oriental writers are far from being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the Tartars attacked and defeated Prester John. The most of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently in the thirteenth century. But Marcus Paulus Venetus, in his book *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. li. lii. liii. and other historians, whose accounts I have followed as the most probable, place the defeat of this second Prester John in the year 1187. The learned and illustrious Demetrius Cantemir, in his *Præf. ad Histor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45, tom. i. of the French edition, gives an account of this matter different from the two now mentioned, and affirms, upon the authority of the Arabian writers, that Genghizkan did not invade the territories of his neighbours before the year 1214.

^g See Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghizkan*, p. 120, 121. published in 12mo. at Paris, in the year 1711. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article Genghizkan, p. 378. Assemanni *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part i. p. 101, and 295. Jean du Plan Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*, ch. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

homet, and in others by the superstitions of paganism. We must except however in this general account, the kingdom of Tangut, the chief residence of Prester John, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained for a long time a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited indeed but a faint shadow of their former grandeur.^h

^h Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 500.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. **NOTWITHSTANDING** the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions and civil wars that consumed its strength and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences still flourished in Greece, and covered with glory such as cultivated them with assiduity and success. This was owing, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the Comneni discovered for the advancement of learning, but also to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who took all possible measures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance and sloth, lest the Greek church should thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned and ingenious commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon *Homer*, and Dionysius the *Geographer*, are sufficient to show the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of classical erudition, and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view toward the various writers who composed in this century the history of their own times, such as Cinnamus, Glycas, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Bryennius, and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages.

II. Nothing could equal the zeal and enthusiasm with which Michael Anchialus, patriarch of Constantinople, encouraged the study of philosophy by

The state of philosophy.

his munificence, and still more by the extraordinary influence of his illustrious example.^a It seems however to have been the aristotelian philosophy that was favoured in such a distinguished manner by this eminent prelate; and it was in the illustration and improvement of this profound and intricate system that such of the Greeks as had a philosophical turn, were principally employed, as appears evident from several remains of ancient erudition, and particularly from the commentaries of Eustratius upon the ethics and other treatises of the Grecian sage. We are not however to imagine that the sublime wisdom of Plato was neglected in this century, or that his doctrines were fallen into disrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they were adopted by many. Such, more especially, as had imbibed the precepts and spirit of the mystics, preferred them infinitely before the peripatetic philosophy, which they considered as an endless source of sophistry and presumption, while they looked upon the platonic system as the philosophy of reason and piety, of candour and virtue. This diversity of sentiments produced the famous controversy, which was managed with such vehemence and erudition among the Greeks, concerning the respective merit and excellence of the peripatetic and platonic doctrines.

III. In the western world the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emulation and ardour, and all the various branches of science were studied with the greatest application and industry. This literary enthusiasm was encouraged and supported by the influence and liberality of certain of the European monarchs, and Roman pontiffs, who perceived the happy tendency of the sciences to soften the savage manners of uncivilized nations, and thereby to administer an additional support to civil government, as well as an ornament to human society. Hence learned societies were formed, and colleges established in several places, in which the liberal arts and sciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourse of students, who resorted thither for instruction, occasioned, in process of time, the enlargement of these schools, which had arisen from small beginnings, and their erection into *universities*, as they were called, in the succeeding age. The principal cities of Europe were

The state of
learning a-
mong the La-
tins.

^a Theodorus Balsamon, *Præf. ad Photii Nomocanonem* in Henr. Justelli *Bibliothecæ juris canonici veteris*. tom. ii p. 814

adorned with establishments of this kind ; but Paris surpassed them all in the number and variety of its schools, the merit and reputation of its public teachers, and the immense multitude of the studious youth that frequented their colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our present schools of learning ; a model indeed defective in several respects but which in after times was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to higher degrees of perfection.^b About the same time the famous school of Angers, in which the youth were instructed in various sciences, and particularly and principally in the civil law, was founded by the zeal and industry of Ulgerius, bishop of that city,^c and the college of Montpelier, where law and physic were taught with great success, had already acquired a considerable reputation.^d The same literary spirit reigned also in Italy. The academy of Bologna, whose origin may certainly be traced higher than this century, was now in the highest renown, and was frequented by great numbers of students, and of such more especially as were desirous of being instructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great measure, owing to the munificence of the emperor Lotharius II. who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities.^e In the same province flourished also the celebrated school of Salernum, where great numbers resorted, and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cause of learning and philosophy, animated so many princes and prelates, and

^b De Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom ii. p. 463. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. ch. xxix. Petri Lambecii *Histor. Biblioth. Vindebon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260. *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom ix. p. 60—80.

^c Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris* tom ii. p. 215. Pasquet de la Livoniere *Dissert. sur l'Antiquite de l'Universite d' Angers*, p. 21. published in 4to. at Angers, 1736.

^d *Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 517.

^e The inhabitants of Bologna pretend, that their academy was founded in the fifth century by Theodosius II. and they show the *diploma* by which that emperor enriched their city with this valuable establishment. But the greatest part of those writers, who have studied with attention and impartiality the records of ancient times, maintain that this diploma is a spurious production, and allege many weighty arguments to prove that the academy of Bologna is of no older date than the eleventh century, and that in the succeeding age, particularly from the time of Lotharius II. it received those improvements that rendered it so famous throughout all Europe. See Car. Sigonii *Historia Bononiensis*, as it is published with learned observations, in the works of that excellent author. Muratori *Antiq. Italie. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23, 884, 898. Just. Hen. Bohmeri *Præf. ad Corpus juris ad Canon.* p. 9, as also the elegant *History of the Academy of Bologna*, written in the German language by the learned Keufelius, and published at Helmstadt, in 8vo. in the year 1750.

discovered itself in the erection of so many academies and schools of learning, the Roman pontiff, Alexander III. was seized also with this noble enthusiasm. In a council held at Rome, A. D. 1179, he caused a solemn law to be published, for the erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, through the sloth and ignorance of the monks and bishops, had fallen into ruin.^f But the effect which this law was intended to produce was prevented by the growing fame of the new erected academies, to which the youth resorted from all parts, and left the *episcopal* and *monastic* schools entirely empty; so that they gradually declined, and sunk at last into total oblivion.

iv. Many were the signal advantages that attended these literary establishments; and what is particularly worthy of notice, they not only rendered know-
A new division
of sciences.
 ledge more universal by facilitating the means of instruction, but were also the occasion of forming a new circle of sciences, better digested, and much more comprehensive than that which had been hitherto studied by the greatest adepts in learning. The whole extent of learning and philosophy, before this period, was confined to the *seven liberal arts*, as they were commonly called, of which three were known by the name of the *trivium*, which comprehended *grammar*, *rhetoric*, and *logic*; and the other four by the title of *quadrivium*, which included *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*. The greatest part of the learned, as we have formerly observed, were satisfied with their literary acquisitions, when they had made themselves masters of the *trivium*, while such as, with an adventurous flight, aspired after the *quadrivium*, were considered as stars of the first magnitude, as the great luminaries of the learned world. But in this century the aspect of letters underwent a considerable and an advantageous change. The number of the *liberal arts* and sciences was augmented, and new and unfrequented paths of knowledge were opened to the emulation of the studious youth. *Theology* was placed in the number of the sciences; not that ancient theology which had no merit but its simplicity, and which was drawn, without the least order or connexion, from divers passages of the holy scriptures, and from the opinions and inventions

^f See B. Bohmeri *Jur. Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iv. p. 705.

of the primitive doctors, but that *philosophical* or *scholastic theology*, that with the deepest abstraction traced divine truth to its first principles, and followed it from thence into its various connexions and branches. Nor was theology alone added to the ancient circle of sciences; the study of the learned languages, of the civil and canon law, and of physick, were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were consecrated to the culture of each of these sciences in various places; and thus it was natural to consider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification necessary to such as aimed at universal learning. All this required a considerable change in the division of the sciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The seven *liberal arts* were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philosophy, to which *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *physick* were added. And hence the origin of the four classes of science, or to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the *universities* in the following century.

v. A happy and unexpected event restored in Italy the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of Justinian, which was found in the ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, so the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of Bologna, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excellent institutions were multiplied in several parts of Italy in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose a great revolu-

¶ The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was, in the twelfth century, applied particularly to medical studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language.

tion in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto different systems of law were followed in different courts, and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the body of laws that was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such credit and authority, that it superseded by degrees all other laws in the greatest part of Europe, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion, that Lotharius II. pursuant to the counsels and solicitations of Irnerius,^b principal professor of the Roman law in the academy of Bologna, published an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes then in force, and substituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and to regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved,ⁱ is far from being supported by sufficient evidence.

vi. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their zealous adherents, judged it not only expedient, but also highly necessary, that the *canon law* should have the same privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the schools, or be made use of as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence it was that Gratian, a benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. Felix and Nabor at Bologna, and by birth a Tuscan, composed, about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment or *Epitome of canon law*, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of

^b Otherwise called Werner.

ⁱ See Herm. Conringius. *De origine juris Germanici*, cap. xvii. Guido Graevus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21, 69, published at Florence, in 4to, in 1737. Henry Brenemann, *Historia Pandectar.* p. 41. Lud. Ant. Muratori *Præf. ad Leges Langobardicas*, scriptor. rerum Italicar. tom. i. pars ii. p. 4, and *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between George Callistus and Barthol. Nihusius, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of Lotharius, obtained by the solicitations of Irnerius; of this controversy there is a circumstantial account in the *Cimbria Literata* of Molerius, tom. iii. p. 142.

councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope Eugenius III. was extremely satisfied with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors and professors of Bologna, and was unanimously adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The professors at Paris were the first that followed the example of those of Bologna, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the *decretal of Gratian*,^k and was entitled by the author himself, the *reunion or coalition of the jarring canons*,^l several most learned and eminent writers of the Romish communion acknowledge that it is full of errors and defects of various kinds.^m As however the main design of this abridgment of the canons was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and what is still more surprising, it enjoys at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness.ⁿ

VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the most universally received toward the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into *theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logi-*

The state of
philosophy
among the
Latins.

^k *Decretum Gratiani.*

^l *Concordia discordantium Canonum.*

^m See among others, Auton. Augustinus, *De Emendatione Gratiani*, published in 8vo. at Arnhem, A. D. 1678, with the learned observations of Steph. Baluzius and Ger. a Mastricht.

ⁿ See Gerhard. a Mastricht, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 293, p. 325. B. Just. Hen. Bohmeri, *Jus. Eccles. Protestant*, tom. i. p. 100, and more particularly the learned preface, with which this last named author enriched the new edition of the canon law, published at Hal, in 4to. in the year 1747. See also Alex. Machiavelli *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem*, tom. iii. *Oper. Sigonii*, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*, several particularities concerning Gratian and his work, which were generally unknown, but whose truth is also much disputed. What increases the suspicion of their being fabulous is, that this famous *Kalendar*, of which the Bolognians boast so much, and which they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the doubts of the learned, has never as yet seen the light. Beside, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of unfair dealing.

cal. The first class comprehended *natural theology*, *mathematics*, and *natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics*, *æconomics*, and *politics*. The third contained the seven arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as *navigation*, *agriculture*, *hunting*, &c. The fourth was divided into *grammar* and *composition*, the latter of which was farther subdivided into *rhetoric*, *dialectic*, and *sophistry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of *metaphysic* which treats of *general notions*. This division was almost universally adopted. Some indeed were for separating *grammar* and *mechanics* from *philosophy*; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term *philosophy*, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences.^o

VIII. The learned, who treated these different branches of science, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness.^p There were at this time *three* methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by the different doctors. The *first* was, the *ancient* and *plain* method, which confined its researches to the philosophical notions of Porphyry, and the *dialectic* system, commonly attributed to St. Augustin, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its divine wisdom. The *second* method was called the *aristotelian*, because it consisted in explications of the works of that philosopher,^q several of whose books being translated into Latin, were now almost every where in the hands of the learned.

Dissensions
among the phi-
losophers.

^o These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from Hugo a St. Victor, *Didascali Libro* ii. cap. ii. p. 7, tom. i. opp. and from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury.

^p See Godof. de St. Victor *Carmen de Sectis Philosoph.* published by Le Boeuf, in his *Diss. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris.* tom. ii. p. 254. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 562. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 51. Jo. Sarisburiensis *Metalog. et Policrat.* passim.

^q Rob. de Monte, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.* published by Luc. Dachorius, among the works of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, *ad A.* 1128, p. 753. "Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Annal. priores et posteriores et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eosdem libros haberetur." Thom. Becket, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454, edit. Bruxell. 1682, in 4to. "Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi . . . Precor etiam iterata supplicatione quatenus in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audiivi, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus."

These translations were indeed extremely obscure and incorrect, and led those who made use of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders, and often into notions, which were not more absurd than whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the *free method*, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting however the succours of Aristotle and Plato. Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicanery, by the imprudent management of those that employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions.^r These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

ix. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater animosity, and treated with greater subtlety and refinement, than the contests of the *dialectics* concerning *universals*. These sophistical doctors were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to *genus* and *species*, to the solution of which they directed all their philosophical efforts, and the whole course of their metaphysical studies; but not all in the same method, nor upon the same principles.^s The two

The contests of the dialecticians, realists, and nominalists described.

^r See Jo. Sarisburiensis *Policrat.* p. 434, et *Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

John of Salisbury, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, *Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating to *genus* and *species* than the *Cæsars* had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of *Croesus* were inferior to the treasures that had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are; "Veterem paratus est solvere questionem de generibus et speciebus," he speaks here of a certain philosopher, "in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpserit *Cæsarea* domus; plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit *Croesus*. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærerent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent."

leading sects into which they had been divided long before this period, and which were distinguished by the titles of *realists* and *nominalists*, not only subsisted still, but were moreover subdivided, each into smaller parties and factions, according as the two opposite and leading schemes were modified by new fancies and inventions. The *nominalists*, though they had their followers, were nevertheless much inferior to the *realists* both with respect to the number of their disciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third sect arose under the name of *formalists*, who pretended to terminate the controversy, by steering a middle course between the two jarring systems now mentioned; but as the hypothesis of these new doctors was most obscure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furnished new subjects of contention and dispute.¹

Those among the learned, who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of *universals*, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flourished most. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in Spain. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin;² for the high esteem in which the

¹ See the above cited author's *Policrat.* lib. vii. p. 451, where he gives a succinct account of the *formalists*, *realists*, and *nominalists* in the following words; "Sunt qui more mathematicorum *Formas* abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt." Such were the *formalists*, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abstract forms*. *Alii discutunt intellectus et eos universalium nominibus censeri confirmant.* Here we find the *realists* pointed out, who, under the name of *universals*, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. "Fuerunt et qui voces ipsas genera dicerent et species; sed eorum jam explosa sententia est et facile cum autore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant vel auctorem vel scientiam profiteri, *solis nominibus*, inherentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, *sermonibus* ascribunt." This was a sect of *nominalists*, who, ashamed, as this author alleges, to profess the exploded doctrine of Roscellinus, which placed *genus* and *species* in the class of *mere words* or *simple denominations*, modified that system by a slight change of expression only, which did not essentially distinguish their doctrine from that of the ordinary *nominalists*. It appears from all this, that the sect of the *formalists* is of more ancient date than John Duns Scotus, whom many learned men consider as its founder. See Jo. Sarisbur. *Metalogic.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814, where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words; "Alius consistit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jam evanuerit; alius sermones intuetur; alius versatur in intellectibus," &c.

² Gerhard of Cremona, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to Toledo, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see Muratori *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937. Mirmet, a French monk travelled into Spain and Africa to learn geography among the Saracens. See Luc. Ducherii *Spicilegium vet. scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443. ed. *Antiq. Daniel*

erudition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. WHEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive in this century the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops,^w while he describes in the other the enormous

The lives
and manners
of the clergy.

Morlach, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to Toledo, from whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books; Ant. Wood, *Antiquit Oxon.* tom. i. p. 55. Peter, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the *Venerable*, after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin, the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mahomet*; see Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. p. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1169, found, upon his arrival in Spain, persons of learning from England and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who travelled in quest of science during this century; but those now alleged are sufficient for our purpose.

^w In the work entitled, *Considerationum Libris. ad Eugenium Pontificem.*

crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity.*

II. The Roman pontiffs, who were placed successively at the head of the church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the imperial and sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success in this ambitious attempt. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the pontiffs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to disconcert their measures, and to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the *empire* and the *priesthood*, for so the contending parties were styled in this century, were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. Pascal II. who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100.†

The pontiffs ambitious to extend their authority.

Pascal, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at Rome, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. Henry however opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

* See his defence of the crusades, under the title of *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem*; as also Gerhohus *De corrupto Ecclesie Statu*, in Balazii *Miscell.* tom. v. p. 63. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. *App.* tom. ii. p. 265, 273, &c. Boulay *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 490, 690.

† Dr. Mosheim's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true; it is certain, that after the death of Guibert, the imperial party chose in his place a person named Albert, who indeed was seized the day of his election and cast into prison. Theodoric and Magnulf were successively chosen after Albert, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xv. vol. xiv. p. 10, Brussels edition in 8vo.

with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry V. so was this monster afterward named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontiff, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree of evidence. One thing however is unquestionably certain, and that is, that Pascal II. dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that Henry had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour.²

iii. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was however much less favourable to the views of Pascal than that lordly pontiff expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of Guastalla and Troyers, the decrees that had so often been issued out against *investitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was indeed suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an issue. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for Italy with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long and unhappy contest. He advanced toward Rome by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and

² These accounts are drawn from the most authentic sources, and also from the eminent writers, whose authority I made use of, and whose names I mentioned in that part of the preceding century that corresponds with the subject here treated.

reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace; that he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing* with the *ring* and *crozier*; and that the bishops and abbots should on the other hand, resign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers; upon which Henry ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of Viterbo. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded *investitures*, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and *crozier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem.^a

iv. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was filled with the most vehement commotions, and a universal cry was raised against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of Lateran, and there not only confessed, with the deepest contrition and humility,

Pascal breaks
this convention
and dies.

^a Besides the writers already mentioned, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 681, and tom. vi. p. 1, at the particular years to which the events here taken notice of belong.

the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention with the emperor, but submitted moreover the decision of that matter to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it.^b This step was followed by many events, that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils both in France and Germany; nay, he was placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination, which exposed him to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times;^c and to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for Italy, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired to Benevento. Pascal however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of Rome. But in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of Europe, and portended great and remarkable events, the military pontiff yielded to fate, and concluded his days, A. D. 1118.

v. A few days after the death of Pascal, John of Galeta, a benedictine monk of Montcassin, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under the title of Gelasius II. In opposition to this choice, Henry elected to the same dignity Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga in Spain,^d who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII.^e Upon this, Gelasius, not thinking himself safe at Rome, nor indeed in Italy, set out for France, and in a little time after died at Clugni. The *cardinals* who ac-

^b Pascal, upon this occasion, as Gregory VII. had formerly done in the case of Berenger, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

^c See Gervaise, *Diss. sur l'Heresie des investitures*, which is the fourth of the *Dissertations* which he has prefixed to his history of the abbot Suger.

^d Braga was the metropolis of ancient Galicia, but at present is one of the three archbishoprics of Portugal, in the province of Entre Duero e Migno. The archbishop of that see claims the title of primate of Spain, which is annexed in Spain to the see of Toledo.

^e See Stephani Baluzii *Vita Mauricii Burgundi Miscellaneor.* tom. iii. p. 471.

accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, Guy, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman pontiffs by the name of Callixtus II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the emperor with courage and success, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of Rome, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in Germany. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly he lent an ear to pacific councils, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions.^f

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutish manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investitures* so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of five and fifty years, the church was governed by monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed entirely; and a prospect of peace arose to the desires and hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

^f The paragraph following is the note ^t of the original, placed in the text.

vi. These hopes were not disappointed; for, after much contestation, peace was at length concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates, at a general diet held at Worms, A. D. 1122. The conditions were as follows;

Peace is concluded between the pope and the emperor upon certain conditions.

“That for the future the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs;^g but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose.^h

“That in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops upon that occasion.

“That the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them.

“That the emperor shall no more confer the *regalia*, by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, which are the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but by that of the *sceptre*, which is more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal.”ⁱ

This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran, and remains still in force in our times! though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontiffs.^k

vii. Callixtus did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was succeeded by Lambert, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the title of Honorius II. and under whose pontificate nothing worthy of mention was transacted. His death which happened, A. D. 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the church of Rome, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party

Two popes raised at the same time to the pontificate.

^g The expression is ambiguous: but it signifies that the election of bishops and abbots was to be made by monks and canons as in former times

^h From this period the people in Germany were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See Pctr. de Marca, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9, p. 783, edit Bohmeri.

ⁱ See Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76. Schilterus, *De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545. Cesar Rasponus, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

^k It was disputed among other things, whether the consecration of the bishop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the *regalia*. See Jo. Wilh. Hoffman, *ad concordatum Henrici V. et Callisti II. Vitemberg.* 1739, in 4to.

elected to the papal chair, Gregory, a cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, who was distinguished by the name of Innocent II. while the other chose for successor to Honorius, Peter, the son of Leo, a Roman prince, under the title of Anacletus II. The party of Innocent was far from being numerous in Rome, or throughout Italy in general, for which reason he judged it expedient to retire into France, where he had many adherents, and where he sojourned during the space of two years. His credit was very great out of Italy; for, beside the emperor Lotharius, the kings of England, France, and Spain, with other princes espoused warmly the cause of Innocent, and that principally by the influence of St. Bernard, who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of Europe. The patrons of Anacletus were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of Sicily and Scotland; his death however which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, and left Innocent in the entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontiff presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace.¹

VIII. After the death of Innocent, the Roman see was filled by Guy, cardinal of St. Mark, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of Celestine II. If his reign was short, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his successor Lucius II. whose pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot, which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority. He was succeeded by Bernard, a cistercian monk, and an eminent disciple of the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval. This worthy ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the popes by the title of Eugenius III. was raised to that high dignity in the year 1145, and during the space of nine years, was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the ghostly reign of his predecessor. He was often obliged to leave Rome, and to save himself by flight from the fury of the people;^m and the same reason

Succession of the pontiffs, from the death of Innocent to the end of this century.

¹ Beside the ordinary writers of the papal history, see Jean de Lannes, *Histoire du pontificat du pape Innocent II.* Paris, 1741, in 8vo.

^m There was a party formed in Rome at this time, whose design was to restore the Roman senate to its former privileges, and to its ancient splendour and glory;

engaged him to retire into France, where he sojourned for a considerable time. At length, exhausted by the opposition he met with in supporting what he looked upon as the prerogatives of the papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153. The pontificate of his successor Conrad, bishop of Sabino, who, after his elevation to the see of Rome, assumed the title of Anastasius IV. was less disturbed by civil commotions, but it was also of a very short duration; for Anastasius died about a year and four months after his election.

ix. The warm contest between the emperors and the popes, which was considered as at an end ever since the time of Calixtus II. was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of Adrian IV. who was a native of England, and whose original name was Nicholas Breakspear. Frederic I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in Italy; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. Adrian perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigour and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at Rome, in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon Frederic's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his holiness. This humbling proposal was at first rejected with disdain by the emperor, and was followed by other contests of a more momentous nature, relating to the political interests of the empire.—These differences were no sooner reconciled, than new disputes, equally important, arose in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to put a stop to the enormous opulence of the pontiffs, bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs*, without the knowledge or consent of the superior

and for this purpose to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower compass, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the primitive bishops, and to the spiritual government of the church, attended with an utter exclusion from all civil jurisdiction over the city of Rome. It was this party that produced the feuds and seditions to which Dr. Mosheim has an eye in this eighth section.

or lord in whose name they were held,^a and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of Italy under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontiff was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of September, A. D. 1159, suspended the storm.^o

x. In the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The most numerous and powerful of the two raised to the pontificate Roland, bishop of Sienna, who assumed the name of Alexander III. while the opposite party elected to that high dignity Octavian, cardinal of St. Cecilia, known by the title of Victor IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom Alexander was extremely disagreeable on several accounts. The council of Pavia, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his sentiments, and pronounced in favour of Victor, who became thereby triumphant in Germany and Italy; so that France alone was left open to Alexander, who accordingly left Rome, and fled thither for safety and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions which this schism occasioned, Victor died at Lucca in the year 1164, but his place was immediately filled by the emperor, at whose desire Guy, cardinal of St. Calixtus, was elected pontiff under the title of Pascal III. and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in the year 1167, at the diet of Wurtzburg. In the mean time Alexander recovered his spirits, and returning into Italy maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and vigour, and not without some promising hopes of success. He held at Rome, in the year 1167, the council of Lateran, in which he solemnly deposed the emperor, whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas and execrations, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel

A dispute arises in the election of a new pontiff.

^a This prohibition of transferring the possession of *fiefs*, from one to another, without the consent of the supreme lord, or sovereign, under whom they were held, together with other laws of a like nature, was the first effectual barrier that was opposed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239.

^o See the accurate and circumstantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illustrious and learned Count Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* wrote in German, p. 45, 49, 73, 99, 105, &c.

against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But soon after this audacious proceeding, the emperor made himself master of Rome, upon which the insolent pontiff fled to Benevento, and left the apostolic chair to Pascal, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of Alexander seemed to take soon after a more prosperous turn, when the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to abandon Italy, and when the death of Pascal, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from such a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate, John, abbot of Strum, under the title of Callixtus III. whom Frederic, notwithstanding his absence in Germany, and the various wars and disputes in which he was involved, supported to the utmost of his power. When peace was, in a good measure, restored to the empire, Frederic marched into Italy, A. D. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, Alexander would undoubtedly have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to Callixtus. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited, and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was at length so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at Venice with Alexander III. and a truce with the rest of his enemies.^p Certain writers affirm, that upon this occasion the haughty pontiff trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion*

^p All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by the above-mentioned Corait Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* p. 115—242. See also Fortunati Olmi *Istoria della Venuta a Venezia occultamente nel A. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III.* Venet. 1629, in 4to. Muratori *Antiq. Italiane medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 2, 9. *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379. *Ad Sanctorum*, tom. i. April. p. 46, in *Vita Hugonis, abbatis Bonæ vallis*, et tom. ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596, two famous ecclesiastics; who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.^a The greatest part however of modern authors have called this event in question, and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit.^r

XII. Alexander III. who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with Frederic I. was also engaged in a warm dispute with Henry II. king of England, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds.^s

A misunderstanding arises between Alexander III. and Henry II. king of England.

^a Psalm xci. 13.

^r See Bunau's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242. Heumanni *Pœciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145. *Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5, as also the authors mentioned by Caspar. Sagittarius, in his *Introduct. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630, tom. ii. p. 600.

See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 82, 83, 101, 114. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 434.

Henry II. had formed the wise project of bringing the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the scandalous abuse they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of sixteen articles, were drawn up for this purpose; and as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occasioned of consequence such warm debates between state and church, it will not be altogether useless to transcribe them here at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the laity, or between the clergy and laity, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the King's Court.

II. Those churches which are *fees* of the crown, cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the king's consent.

III. When the clergy are charged with any misdemeanour, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to such parts of the indictment as shall be put to them; and likewise to answer such articles in the Ecclesiastical Court as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction; always provided, that the king's justiciary shall send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the court christian. And in case any clerk is convicted or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church no longer.

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a license from the crown; and provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the bishop by legal and reputable witnesses; and the course of the process is to be so managed, that the archdeacon may not lose any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office; and if any offenders appear screened from prosecution upon the score, either of favour or quality, the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security to continue upon the place where they live; but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that holds in chief of the king, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king: provided he is in the kingdom; and, in case his highness be out of England,

Becket refused obedience to these laws, which he looked upon as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in

then the justiciary must be acquainted with the dispute, in order to make satisfaction ; and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, must be tried there ; and that which belongs to the court christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

VIII. In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop ; and from the bishop to the archbishop ; and if the archbishop fails to do justice, a farther recourse may be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the Archbishop's Court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown.

IX. If a difference happens to arise between any clergyman and layman concerning any tenement ; and that the clerk pretends it held by *frank almoine*,* and the layman pleads it a *lay fee* ; in this case, the tenure shall be tried by the inquiry and verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood, summoned according to the custom of the realm. And if the tenement, or thing in controversy, shall be found *frank almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court. But if it is brought in a *lay fee*, the suit shall be followed in the King's Courts, unless both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in question of the same bishop ; in which case, the cause shall be tried in the court of such bishop or baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seized of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseized, hanging the suit, i. e. *during the suit, pendente lite*, upon the score of the verdict above-mentioned.

X. He who holds of the king in any city, castle or borough, or resides upon any of the demesne lands of the crown, in case he is cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer any misbehaviour belonging to their cognisance ; if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdiction, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town shall be preacquainted with the case in order to enjoin him to make satisfaction to the church. And if such officer or magistrate shall fail in his duty, he shall be fined by the king's judges. And then the bishop may exert his discipline on the refractory person as he thinks fit.

XI. All archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the king in chief, and the tenure of a barony, are for that reason obliged to appear before the king's justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm ; and, like other barons, are bound to be present at trials in the King's Court, till sentence is to be pronounced for the losing of life or limbs.

XII. When any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make seizure ; from which time all the profits and issues are to be paid into the exchequer, as if they were the demesne lands of the crown. And when it is determined the vacancy shall be filled up, the king is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the consent of our sovereign lord the king, and by the advice of such persons of the government, as his highness shall think fit to make use of. At which time, the person elected, before his consecration, shall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege lord ; which homage shall be performed in the usual form, with a clause for the saving the privilege of his order.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men, shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party aggrieved. And if any person shall disseize the king of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution ; i. e. "They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible."

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or churchyard, to secure them against seizure and justice ; because such goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church or without it.

XV. All actions and pleas of debts, though never so solemn in the circumstances of the contract, shall be tried in the king's courts.

* i. e. A tenure by divine service, as Britton explains it.

general, and to the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into France, where Alexander III. was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontiff and the king of France interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return into England, where he was reinstated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign toward him, were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced, by any means, to comply with the views and measures of Henry. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate, for he was, soon after his return into England, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four persons, who certainly did not commit this act of violence without the king's knowledge and connivance.* This event produced warm

XVI. The sons of copy holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the constitutions of Clarendon, against the greatest part of which the pope protested. They were signed by the English clergy and also by Becket. The latter however repented of what he had done, and retiring from court, suspended himself from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received absolution from Alexander III. who was then at Sens. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive and arrogant priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of Rome, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of the state. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. xii. century. Rapin Thoyras, in the reign of Henry II.

¶ This assertion is, in our opinion, by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscreet and passionate expressions, which the intolerable insolence and frenetic obstinacy of Becket drew from Henry in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, he expressed himself to this purpose: "Am I not unhappy, that among the numbers who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest?" These words indeed were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were Fitz Urse, Tracy, Britton, and Morville, murdered Becket in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is extremely remarkable, that after the murder, the assassins were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the King's Court, which was then in Normandy; but retired, at first, to Knaresborough in Yorkshire, which belonged to Morville, from whence they repaired to Rome for absolution, and being admitted to penance by Alexander III. were sent, by the orders of that pontiff to Jerusalem, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the Black Mountain in the severest acts of austerity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expressly consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that Henry

debates between the king of England and the Roman pontiff, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs in the year 1173.^u

XIII. It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise

Alexander III. contributes by prudent councils to confirm the privileges of the church, and to extend the papal authority.

councils and prudent laws, that Alexander III. maintained the pretended rights of the church, and extended the authority of the Roman pontiffs. For, in the third council of the Lateran, held at Rome, A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority; 1st. That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontiffs, the right of election should not only be vested in the *cardinals* alone, but also that the person in whose favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pontiff. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which, not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity. 2dly. A spiritual war was declared against heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in France, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of

was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. Hume mentions particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above-mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, "despatched, says Mr. Hume, a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders came too late." See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294. Rapin Thoyras, *History of England*; Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 370. The authors which Dr. Mosheim refers to for an account of this matter, are as follow: Guliel. Stephanidæ, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis* in Sparks *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published in folio at London, in the year 1723. Chrisp. Lupi *Epistola et Vita Thomæ Cantuar. Epistola Alexandri III. Ludorici VII. Henrici II. in hac causa ex MSS. Vaticano*, Bruxelles, 1682, 2 vols. 4to. Natalis Alexander, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capitib. Sæc. xii. Diss. x. p. 833. Thomæ Stapletoni Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori*. Colon. 1612, in 8vo.

^u Boulay, *Histor. Academ. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 328, et *De Die Festo ejus*, p. 397. Dom. Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249.

their errors.^w 3dly. The right of recommending and nominating to the saintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognisance of which belonged to the pontiff alone.^x To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII. was not only assumed, but also exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. duke of Portugal, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see.^y

xiv. Upon the death of Alexander, Ubald, bishop of Ostia, otherwise known by the name of Lucius III. was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by ^{His successors.} the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. The administration of this new pontiff was imbittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles he died at Verona in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, bishop of Milan, who assumed the title of Urban III. and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had made himself master of Jerusalem. The pontificate of his successor Albert,^z whose papal denomination was Gregory VIII. exhibited a still more striking

^w See Natalis Alexander, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sac. xii. Diss. ix. p. 819*, where he treats particularly concerning this council. See also tom. vi. pars ii. *Conciliorum Harduini*, p. 1671.

^x Dr. Mosheim, as also Spanheim and Fleury, call this the third council of Lateran, whereas other historians mention eight preceding councils held in the Lateran, viz: those of the years 649, 864, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1123, 1139, 1167. Our author has also attributed to this council of 1179, decrees that probably belong to a later period.

^y See what has been observed already, under the tenth century, concerning the election of the popes, and the *canonization* of saints.

^z Baronius, *Annal. ad A. 1179. Innocentii III. Epistolæ Lib. ep. xlix. p. 54, tom. i. ed. Baluzian.*

^z Alphonso had been declared, by his victorious army, king of Portugal, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the Moors; so that Alexander III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.

^z This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of Benevento, and chancellor of the Roman church.

instance of the fragility of human grandeur ; for this pontiff yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by Paul, bishop of Preneste, who filled the papal chair above three years, under the title of Clement III. and departed this life, A. D. 1191, without having distinguished his ghostly reign by any memorable achievement, if we except his zeal for draining Europe of its treasures and inhabitants by the publication of new *crusades*. Celestine III.^a makes a more shining figure in history than the pontiffs we have been now mentioning ; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of England, as he was returning from the holy land ; he also subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded Philip Augustus, king of France to readmit to the conjugal state and honours Ingelburg, his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown ; though this order indeed produced but little effect.^b But the most illustrious and resolute pontiff, that filled the papal chair during this century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in Europe, was Lotharius, count of Segui, cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of Innocent III. The arduous undertakings and bold achievements of this eminent pontiff, who was placed at the head of the church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

xv. If, from the series of pontiffs that ruled the church in this century, we descend to the other ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhibited to our view. The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees of synods and councils, declare loudly the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not therefore at all surprising, that the monks, whose rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method of living, and placed them out of the way of many

A view of the other ecclesiastical orders, and their vices.

^a Whose name was Hyacinth, a native of Rome, and a cardinal deacon.

[^b] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible proceedings of Innocent III. that the reunion between Philip and Ingelburg was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France, par l'Abbé Velly*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning, to which the episcopal and sacerdotal orders were exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were. The reign of corruption became however so general, that it reached at last even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the *secular clerks* and the *regular canons* with aversion and contempt,^c began, in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had been formerly distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice.^d The benedictines of Clugni, who undoubtedly surpassed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety and virtue. They were however at length carried away with the torrent; seduced by the example of their abbot Pontius, and corrupted by the treasures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity, and following the dissolute examples of the other benedictines, they *gave themselves up to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly*.^e Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks of Clugni ever be brought back to their primitive sanctity and virtue.^f

xvi. The *cistercian order*, which was much inferior to the monks of Clugni, both with respect to the antiquity of their institution, and the possessions and revenues of their convent, surpassed them far in the external regularity of their lives and manners, and

The prosperous state of the cistercian order.

^c See Rupertli *Epistola* in Martene *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the monks before the apostles.

^d See Bernard. *Consideration. ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv. See also the *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*, a poem, composed by Nigel Wireker, an English bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century. In this poem, of which several editions have been published, the different orders of monks are severely censured; the carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent satire of this witty writer.

^e Isaiah, xlvii. 8.

^f See Martene, *Antiquissima Collectio Monumentorum. Veter.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

in a certain striking air of innocence and sanctity, which they still retained, and which the others had almost entirely lost. Hence they acquired that high degree of reputation and authority, which the order of Clugni had formerly enjoyed, and increased daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, whose influence throughout all Europe was incredible, whose word was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by kings and princes as so many orders to which the most respectful obedience was due; this eminent ecclesiastic was the person who contributed most to enrich and aggrandize the cistercian order. Hence he is justly considered as the second parent and founder of that order; and hence the cistercians, not only in France, but also in Germany and other countries, were distinguished by the title of *bernardine monks*.^g A hundred and sixty religious communities derive their origin, or their rules of discipline, from this illustrious abbot, and he left, at his death, seven hundred monks in the monastery of Clairval. The church abounded with bishops and archbishops that had been formed and prepared for the ministry by his instructions, and he counted also, among the number of his disciples, Eugenius III. one of the best and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

XVII. The growing prosperity of the *cistercian order* excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of Clugni, and after several dissensions of less consequence, produced at length an open rupture, a declared war between these two opulent and powerful monasteries. They both followed the rule of St. Benedict, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the cistercians more especially had added to that rule. The monks of Clugni accused the cistercians of affecting an extravagant austerity in their manners and discipline; while the cistercians, on the other hand, charged them, and that upon very good grounds, with having degenerated from their former sanctity, and regularity of conduct. St. Bernard, who was the oracle and protector of the cistercians, wrote, in the year 1127, an

Jealousies arise between the cistercians and the monks of Clugni.

^g See Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Ordin. Benedict.* tom. vi. passim, in *vita Sti. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint. See also Angeli Mariquez, *Annales Cisterciens.* tom. ii. and iii.

Apology for his own conduct in relation to the division that subsisted between the two convents, and inveighed with a just, though decent severity against the vices that corrupted the monks of Clugni.^h This charge was answered, though with uncommon moderation and candour, by Peter Mauricius, abbot of Clugni; and hence it occasioned a controversy in form, which spread from day to day its baneful influence, and excited disturbances in several provinces of Europe.ⁱ It was however followed with a much more vehement and bitter contest concerning an exemption from the payment of tithes, granted among other privileges and immunities to the cistercians, A. D. 1132, by Innocent II. A considerable part of the lands which the cistercians possessed, and to which the pontiff granted this exemption, were subject to the monks of Clugni, who suffered consequently by this act of liberality, and disputed the matter, not only with the cistercians, but with the pope himself. This keen dispute was, in some measure, terminated in the year 1155, but in what manner, or upon what conditions, is more than is come to our knowledge.^k

XVIII. The *regular canons*, who were erected into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic drones, who passed their days in luxury and sloth. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a va-

Lives and
manners of
the canons.

[^h] This apology, as it is called, of St. Bernard, is well worth the attention of the curious reader; as it exhibits a true and lively picture of monastic opulence and luxury, and shows how the religious orders in general lived in this century. The famous abbot, in this performance, accuses the monks of Clugni of luxury and intemperance at their table, of superfluity and magnificence in their dress, their bed chambers, their furniture, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride and vanity of the abbots, who looked much more like the governors of provinces, than the spiritual fathers of humble and holy communities, whose original profession it was, to be crucified and dead to the interests and pleasures, the pomps and vanities of a present world. He declares, with a pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351, edit. Bruxelles.

ⁱ See S. Bernardi *Apologia* in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533. The *Apology* of Peter, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the *Venerable*, which is published among his *Epistles*, lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, tom. i. p. 657—695. See also the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by Martenc, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613. Compare with all these Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 80, and Manriquez, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

^k See Angeli Manriquez, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 212, 479, et *Prefat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*. Jo. de Launcs, *Histoire du Pontificat. d'Innocent II.* p. 68—79. Jo. Nic. Hertii *Diss. de exemptione Cisterc. c. decimis*.

riety of ecclesiastical functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church.¹ Hence they rose daily in credit and reputation, received many rich and noble donations from several persons, whose opulence and piety rendered them able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions. Hence arose a long and warm contest between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation.^m The champions, who espoused the interest of the monks, were the famous Peter Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, Rupert of Duytz; while the cause of the canons was defended by Philip Harvengius, a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and abilities.ⁿ The effects and remains of this ancient controversy are yet visible in our times.

xix. A new society of religious benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called Fontevraud, between Angers and Tours, from whence the order derived its name. Robert of Arbrisselles, its founder, who had been first an hermit, and afterward a monk, prescribed to his *religious* of both sexes, the rule of St. Benedict, amplified however by the addition of several new laws, which were extremely sin-

New monastic
orders.

¹ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

^m See Lamberti *Epistola* in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

ⁿ Abelardi *Opera*, p. 228, Paris, 1616, in 4to. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975, 1614, et *Amplissima ejusdem Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972. Phil. Harvengii *Opera*, p. 385, Duaci, 1621, in folio.

gular and excessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which Robert had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbess; in justification of which measure, the example of Christ was alleged, who recommended St. John to the Virgin Mary, and imposed it as an order upon that beloved disciple, to be obedient to her as to his own mother.^o This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success. [¶ But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniences. However that be, Robert continued his pious labours, and the odour of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry.] He was indeed suspected by some, of too great an intimacy with his female disciples; and it was rumoured about, that in order to try his virtue, by opposing it to the strongest temptations, he exposed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner in which he conversed with these holy virgins. It was even said, that their commerce was softened by something more tender than divine love; against which charge, his disciples have used their most zealous endeavours to defend their master.^p

^o See the *Works* of Abelard, p. 48, whose testimony in this matter is confirmed by the present state and constitution of this famous order; though Mabillon, from an excessive partiality in favour of the benedictines, has endeavoured to diminish its credit in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of Robert and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 593. Dion. Sammarthani *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311. Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Fontevraud. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83. The present state of this monastery is described by Moleon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108, and by Martene, in his *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins.* part ii. p. 1.

^p See the letters of Geoffry, abbot of Vendome, and of Marbod, bishop of Rennes, in which Robert is accused of lying in the same bed with the nuns. How the grave abbot was defended against this accusation by the members of his order, may be seen in Mainferme's *Clypeus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebraldensis*, published in Svo. at Paris, in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello, Salnuri.* 1682. in Svo. Bayle's account of this famous abbot, in which there is such an admirable mixture of wit, sense, and malice, has also been attacked by several writers; see, among others, the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle*, Anvers, 1701, in Svo. Mabillon, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9, 10.

¶ In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into England, at the

xx. Norbert, a German nobleman, who went into holy orders, and was afterward archbishop of Magdebourg, employed his most zealous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *order of Premontre* in Picardy, whose fame spread throughout Europe with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous, in consequence of the high esteem which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their assiduous application to the liberal arts and sciences. But their overgrown prosperity was the source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst after useful knowledge, and thus, step by step, plunged them at length into all sorts of vices. The rule which they followed was that of St. Augustin, with some slight alterations, and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority however did not long survive their austere founder.*

xxi. About the middle of this century, a certain Calabrian, whose name was Berthold, set out with a few companions for mount Carmel, and upon the very spot where the prophet Elias is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led

desire of Henry III. who gave them the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltshire. They had two other houses here; the one at Eton, the other at Westwood in Wiltshire.

¶ The *religious* of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning, and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above an hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to one thousand abbeys, three hundred provostships, a vast number of priories, and five hundred nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Beside what they lost in protestant countries, of sixty-five abbeys, that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining.

* See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156. Chrysost. Van. der Sterie, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensis Patriarchæ*, published in 8vo. at Antwerp, in 1656. Louis Hughes, *Vie de S. Norbert*, Luxemb. 1704, in 4to. Add to these, notwithstanding his partiality. Jo. Launojus. *Inquisit. in Privilegia Ordin. Præmonstrat.* cap. i. ii. *Oper.* tom. iii. part i. p. 448. For an account of the present state of the order of *Premontre* see Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 59.

¶ The *Præmonstratenses* or monks of Premontre, vulgarly called White canons, came first into England, A. D. 1146. Their first monastery, called New House, was built in Lincolnshire, by Peter de Saulia, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of Edward I. the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in England.

a life of solitude, austerity, and labour. This little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new comers; so that it was at length^s erected into a monastic community by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. This austere prelate drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterward confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiffs, who modified and altered it in several respects, and among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour and severity.^t Such was the origin of the famous *order of carmelites*, or as they are commonly called, of the *order of our lady of mount Carmel*, which was afterward transplanted from Syria into Europe, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true the carmelites reject, with the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm, to this very day, that the prophet Elias was the parent and founder of their ancient community.^u Very few however have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishment, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost contempt.^w [P And scarcely indeed can any thing be more ridiculous than the circumstantial narrations of the occasion, origin, founder, and revolutions of this famous order, which we find in several ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting without reluctance, or at least of reciting without shame, the most puerile and glaring absurdities. They tell us, that Elias was introduced into the state of monachism by the ministry of angels; that his first disci-

^s In the year 1205.

^t I have here principally followed Dan. Papebroch, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations, see the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. Mense April.* tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned jesuit, before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, by the carmelites, on account of his having called in question the dignity and high antiquity of their order. We have in Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 282, an account of this long and tedious contest which was so far determined, or at least suspended, in the year 1698, by Innocent XII. that silence was imposed upon the contending parties.

^u The most concise and accurate of all the carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is Thomas Aquinas, a French monk, in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ vindicatur*, published in 8vo. at Paris, in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cause of the carmelites against Papebroch, are extremely prolix and tiresome.

^w See Harduini *Opera Posthum.* p. 642. Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie.* tom. iii. p. 87. Courayer, *Examen des défauts Théologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

ples were Jonah, Micah, and also Obadiah, whose wife, in order to get rid of an importunate crowd of lovers who fluttered about her at the court of Achab, after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, received the veil from the hands of *father* Elias, and thus became the first abbess of the carmelite order. They enter into a vast detail of all the circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline which were drawn up for this community, the habit which distinguished its members, and the various alterations which were introduced into their rule of discipline in process of time. They observe, that among other marks which were used to distinguish the carmelites from the seculars, the *tonsure* was one; that this mark of distinction exposed them indeed to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furnishes the true explication of the terms *bald head*, which the children addressed, by way of reproach, to Elisha as he was on his way to Carmel.^x They tell us moreover that Pythagoras was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wisdom from mount Carmel, and had several conversations with the prophet Daniel at Babylon, upon the subject of the Trinity. Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert that the Virgin Mary, and Jesus himself, assumed the habit and profession of carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment.^y

^x See 2 Kings, ii. 23.

¶ For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work, entitled, “*Ordres Monastiques, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conserve a la Posterite ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre, enrichie d'un tres grand nombre de passages des memes Auteurs; pour servir de demonstration que ce qu'on y avance est egalement veritable et curieux.*” This work, which was first printed at Paris in 1751, under the title of *Berlin*, and which was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence and learning; and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the most eminent author who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author's design seems to have been to expose the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkable, that in the execution of his purpose, he has drawn his material from the gravest authors, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his style, and not by laying to the charge of the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et de Beaux Arts*, at the Hague, have given several interesting extracts of this work in the 2d. 3d. 4th. and 5th. volumes of that Literary Journal.

¶ The carmelites came into England in the year 1240, and erected there a vast number of monasteries almost through the whole kingdom. See Broughton's *Historical Library*, vol. i. p. 298.

XXII. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiss to add a list of the principal Greek and Latin writers that flourished in this century. Greek writers. The most eminent among the Greeks were those that follow;

Philippus Solitarius, whose *Diopira*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known;

Eustratius, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of Aristotle;

Euthymius Zigabenus, who, by his *Antiheretical Panoply*, together with his commentaries upon several parts of the sacred writings, has acquired a place among the principal authors of this century;^z

Johannes Zonaras, whose *Annals*, together with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant;

Michael Glycas, who also applied himself to historical composition, as well as to other branches of learning;^a

Constantius Harmenopulus, whose commentaries on the civil and canon laws are deservedly esteemed;

Andronicus Camaterus, who wrote with great warmth and vehemence against the Latins and Armenians;

Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, the most learned of the Greeks in this century, and the celebrated commentator of the *Iliad*;

Theodorus Balsamon, who employed great diligence, erudition, and labour in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.^b

XXIII. The most eminent among the Latin writers were,

Bernard, abbot of Clairval, from whom the cis-tercian monks, as has been already observed, derived the title of *bernardins*; a man who was not destitute of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many respects, was just and penetrating; but who, on the other hand, discovered in his conduct, many marks of superstition and weakness, and what is still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of

^z See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesi. par M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 318, 324.

^a Other historians place Glycas in the fifteenth century. See Lami *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first volume of his *Deliciae vivorum eruditorum*.

^b See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

loading with false accusations, such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure;^c

Innocent III. bishop of Rome, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religious sentiments, as also the discipline and morals that prevailed in this century;^d

Anselm of Laon, a man of a subtle genius, and deeply versed in logical disquisition;

Abelard, the disciple of Anselm, and most famous in this century, on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterness of his unhappy fate;^e

Geoffroy of Vendome, whose *Epistles* and *Dissertations* are yet extant;

Rupert of Duytz, and the most eminent perhaps of all the expositors of the holy scriptures, who flourished among the Latins during this century, a man of a sound judgment and elegant taste;^f

Hugh of St. Victor, a man distinguished by the fecundity of his genius, who treated in his writings of all the branches of sacred and profane erudition that were known in his time, and who composed several dissertations that are not destitute of merit;^g

Richard of St. Victor, who was at the head of the mystics in this century, and whose treatise, entitled, *The Mystical Art*, which contains, as it were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was received with the greatest avidity, and applauded by the fanatics of the times;^h

^c The learned Mabillon has given a splendid edition of the works of St. Bernard, and has not only in his preface made many excellent observations upon the life and history of this famous abbot, but has also subjoined in his *Works*, the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

^d The epistles of Innocent III. were published at Paris, in two large volumes in folio, by Baluzius, in the year 1682.

^e See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the articles Abelard and Paraclet. Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abcillard, Abbe de Ruys, et de Heloise*, published at Paris in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at Paris in 1616, in one volume 4to. by Franc. Amboise. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of Abelard that have never yet seen the light.

^f See Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20, 42, 144, 168, 261, 282, 296, who gives an ample account of Rupert, and of the disputes in which he was involved.

^g See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of this learned man were published at Rouen, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1648. See for a farther account of him, Derlangii *Dissert. de Hugoni a S. Victore*, Helmstadt, 1716, in 4to. and Martene's *Voyage Litteraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.

^h *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

Honorius of Autun,ⁱ no mean philosopher, and tolerably versed in theological learning;

Gratian, a learned monk, who reduced the canon law into a new and regular form, in his vast compilation of the decisions of the ancient and modern councils, the decretals of the pontiffs, the capitularies of the kings of France, &c.

William of Rheims, the author of several productions, every way adapted to excite pious sentiments, and to contribute to the progress of practical religion;

Peter Lombard, who was commonly called, in France, *Master of the Sentences*, because he had composed a work so entitled, which was a collection of opinions and sentences relative to the various branches of theology, extracted from the Latin doctors, and reduced into a sort of system;^k

Gilbertus Porretanus,^l a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is however said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning *the divine essence*; *the incarnation*; and *the Trinity*;^m

William of Auxerre, who acquired a considerable reputation by his *Theological System*;ⁿ

Peter of Blois,^o whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

John of Salisbury, a man of great learning and true genius, whose philosophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*, and his book *De nugis Curialium*;

Petrus Comestor, author of *An Abridgment of the Old and New Testament*, which was used in the schools for the instruction of the youth, and called probably from thence, *Historia Scholastica*.

A more ample account of the names and characters of the Latin writers may be found in those authors who have professedly treated that branch of literature.

ⁱ Such is the place to which Honorius is said to have belonged. But Le Boeuf proves him to have been a German, in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Franoise*, tom. i. p. 254.

^k *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

^l Gilbert, *De la Poiree*.

^m He held, among other things, this trifling and sophistical proposition, that the *divine essence and attributes are not God*; a proposition that was every way proper to exercise the quibbling spirit of the scholastic writers.

ⁿ Le Boeuf, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in Molat's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 317.

^o Petrus Blesensis

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

1. WHEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprising, that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontiffs led the way; they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, in that such as refused to comply with it, and to force the words of scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its divine author, such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity and resolution. The priests and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients, and the precepts of the dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could not only be moved by a *divine impulse*; and thus, not only set limits

Christianity
corrupted
more and
more.

to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with a universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of Christ, and were supposed by many to be more effectual, than the prayers offered to heaven through the mediation and intercession of that divine Redeemer.^p The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing wagons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal.^q The saints had a greater number of worshippers, than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these superstitious worshippers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times, viz. *How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed to them from the earth.* This question was prevented in this century by an opinion which the christians had received from their pagan ancestors, that the inhabitants of heaven descended often from above, and frequented the places in which they had formerly taken pleasure during their residence upon earth.^r

Superstition
reigns among
the multitude.

^p See Guibert de Novigento, *De pignoribus*, so were relics called, *sanctorum*, in his *Works* published by Dacherius, p. 327, where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

^q See Haymon's Treatise concerning this custom, published by Mabillon, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these *Annals*, p. 392.

^r As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. Altman, bishop of Padua*, as it stands in Seb. Tegnagl's *Collect. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. "Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescat . . . haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis quæ

To finish the horrid portrait of superstition, we shall only observe that the stupid credulity of the people in this century went so far, that when any person, either through the phrensy of a disordered imagination, or with a design to deceive, published the dreams or visions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended* they had from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation which the two famous prophetesses Hildegard, abbess of Bingen, and Elizabeth of Schonauge, obtained in Germany.^s

III. This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously, yet basely improved by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude. And indeed all the various ranks and orders of the clergy had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The *bishops*, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders, and enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external pomp and splendour of the church.^t The *abbots* and *monks*, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcasses and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains at cer-

The scandalous traffic of indulgences began by the bishops.

viventes tanta devotione construxistis, et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere."

^s See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431, 529, 554.

^t Stephanus, *Obazinensis* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 130. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 535. &c.

tain fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as much by this raree show, as the bishops did by their indulgences.^u

iv. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only a universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption had never once ventured to take.^w

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their *indulgences*, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of Palestine; but in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence, and merely with a view to filthy lucre.^x Their introduction, among other

And afterward monopolized by the Roman pontiffs.

^u We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the *Chronicon Centulense* in Dacherii *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354. *Vita Stæ. Romane*, ibid. p. 137. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342, 644. *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*, tom. vii. p. 533, where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of St. Mauculus. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520, and tom. ii. p. 732.

^w Morinus, *De administratione sacramenti penitentie*, lib. x. cap. xx. xxi. xxi. p. 768. Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sæc. v.* *Acta Sanctor. Benedict.* p. 54, not to speak of the protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

^x Muratori *Antiq. Italie. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 761. Frauc. Pagi *Brevar. Ron. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60. Theod. Ruinarti *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231, tom. iii. Opp. Posthum.

things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient *canonical* and *ecclesiastical discipline of penance*, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the *penitentials*,^y by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence; but this was impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous measures of the pontiffs, a most monstrous and absurd doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the following century, and which contained among others, the following enormities; “That there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions, which the saints had performed *beyond what was necessary* for their own salvation,^z and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontiff; and that of consequence he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes.” It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended in the church of Rome.^a

v. Nothing was more common in this century than expositors and interpreters of the sacred writings; but nothing was so rare, as to find, in that class of authors, the qualifications that are essentially required in a good commentator. Few of these expositors were attentive to search after the true signification of the words employed by the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators,

The expositors and commentators of this century.

¶ ^y The *Penitential* was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were registered.

¶ ^z These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

¶ ^a For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work, entitled, *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, published in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo. by the reverend Mr. Chais, minister of the French church in the Hague, on occasion of the universal jubilee celebrated at Rome the preceding year, by the order of Benedict XIV. In the 2d. volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history, there is a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine in question, as also the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.

blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of Euthymius Zigabenus, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the *Psalms*, *Gospels*, and *Epistles*; though it must at the same time be acknowledged, that this writer follows in some places the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the *Lucubrations* of Peter Lombard, Gilbert de la Poree, and the famous Abelard, upon the *Psalms* of David, and the *Epistles* of St. Paul. Nor do those commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, such as Gilbert, bishop of London, surnamed the *Universal*, on account of the vast extent of his erudition,^b and Hervey, a most studious benedictine monk,^c deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are Rupert of Duytz, and Anselm of Laon; the former of whom expounded several books of scripture, and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a *Glossary upon the sacred writings*. As to those doctors who were not carried away by an enthusiastical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own sagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind; for, disregarding and overlooking the beautiful simplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the search of all sorts of mysteries in the sacred writings, and were constantly on the scent after some hidden meaning in the plainest expressions of scripture. The people called *mystics* excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding; and forced, by their violent

^b For an account of this prelate, see Le Boeuf, *Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auzerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

^c An ample account of this learned benedictine is to be found in Gabr. Liron, *Singularites Historiques et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 29. See also Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477, 719.

explications, the word of God into a conformity with their visionary doctrines, their enthusiastic feelings, and the system of discipline which they had drawn from the excursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philosophy, and who, in effect, had applied themselves to these profound sciences, free from the contagion of *mysticism* in their explications of scripture. They followed, on the contrary, the example of these fanatics, as may be seen by Hugh of St. Victor's *Allegorical Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, by the *Mystical Ark* of Richard of St. Victor, and by the *Mystical Commentaries* of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, on *Obadiah*, *Hosea*, and *Amos*;^d not to mention several other writers, who seem to have been animated by the same spirit.

vi. The most eminent teachers of theology resided at Paris, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by students of divinity from all parts of Europe, who resorted thither in crowds to receive instruction from these celebrated masters.

The manner
of teaching
theology that
now prevail-
ed.

The French divines were divided into different sects. The first of these sects, who were distinguished by the title of *the ancient theologists*, explained the doctrines of religion in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. Bernard, Peter, surnamed the *Chanter*, Walter of St. Victor, and other doctors, who declared an open and bitter war against the *philosophical divines*. The doctors, which were afterward known by the name of *positivi* and *sententiarii*, were not, in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, Hildebert, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especi-

^d The *Prologus in Abdiam* has been published by Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

ally had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but in the application of which, all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence. Hugh of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example however was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as Peter, bishop of Paris, surnamed Lombard, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four books of Sentences* of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1172,^e were not only received with universal applause, but acquired also such a high degree of authority, as induced the most learned doctors in all places to employ their labours in illustrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular task, except Henry of Gendt, and a few others;^f so that Lombard, who was commonly called *master of the sentences*, on account of the famous work now mentioned, became truly a classic author in divinity.^g

VII. The followers of Lombard, who were called *sententiarii*, though their manner of teaching was defective in some respects, and not altogether exempt from vain and trivial questions, were al-

The scholastics properly so called.

^e Erpoldi Lindenbrogii *Scriptores Septemtrionales*, p. 250.

^f A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, is given by Anton. Possevinus, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

^g The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of Peter Lombard so illustrious, was a compilation of sentences and passages drawn from the fathers, whose manifold contradictions this eminent prelate endeavoured to reconcile. His work may be considered as a complete body of divinity. It consists of four books, each of which is subdivided into various chapters and sections. In the first he treats of the *Trinity*, and the *divine attributes*; in the second, of the *creation* in general, of the *origin of angels*, the *formation and fall of man*, of *grace and free will*, of *original sin* and *actual transgression*; in the third, of the *incarnation*, and *perfections of Jesus Christ*; of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, of the *gifts of the Spirit*, and the *commandments of God*. The *sacraments*, the *resurrection*, the *last judgment*, and the *state of the righteous in heaven*, are the subjects treated in the fourth and last book of this famous work, which was the wonder of the twelfth century, and is little more than an object of contempt in ours.

on the nature of things. They had for contemporaries another set of theologists, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this respect; a set of subtle doctors, who taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity, in the obscure terms and with the perplexing distinctions used by the dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened, with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts of the wisdom that is from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterward called the *scholastic* system, because it was in general use in the schools, had for its author Peter Abelard, a man of the most subtle genius, whose public lectures in philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest summit of literary renown, and who was successively canon of Paris, and monk and abbot of Ruys.^b The fame he acquired by this new method engaged many ambitious divines to adopt it; and in a short space of time, the followers of Abelard multiplied prodigiously not only in France, but also in England and Italy. Thus was the *pure* and *peaceable* wisdom of the gospel perverted into a science of mere sophistry and chicane; for these subtle doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the opposite sides of the most serious and momentous questions.^c

VIII. From this period therefore, an important distinction was made between the christian doctors who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called by the various names of *biblici*, i. e. bible doctors, *dogmatici*, and *positivi*, i. e. didactic divines, and also *veteres*, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the *scholastics*, who were also distinguished by the titles of *sententiarii*, after the *master of the sentences*, and *novi*, to express their recent

The christian doctors divided into two classes, called *biblici* and *scholastics*.

^b Abelard acknowledges this himself, *Epist.* i. cap. ix. p. 20. *Oper.* See also Launojus, *De Scholis Caroli M.* p. 67, cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. pars i.

^c Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201, 583. Anton. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58. Launojus, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187, edit. Elsworthii Vilem. 1720, in 8vo.

origin. The *former* expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity, without deriving any succours from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *scripture* and *tradition*. The *latter* expounded, instead of the bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their subtile philosophy, whatever the gospel proposed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and perplexed and obscured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain questions and idle speculations.^k The method of the *scholastics* exhibited a pompous aspect of learning, and these subtile doctors seemed to surpass their adversaries in sagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the studious youth, who flocked to their schools in multitudes, while the *biblici*, or *doctors of the sacred page*, as they were also called, had the mortification to see their auditories unfrequented, and almost deserted.^l The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of Luther.

ix. It must however be observed, that these metaphysical divines had many difficulties to encounter, and much opposition to overcome, before they could obtain that boundless authority in the European schools, which they enjoyed so long. They were attacked from different quarters; on the one hand, by the *ancient divines* or bible doctors; on the other, by the *mystics*, who considered true wisdom and knowledge as unattainable by study or reasoning, and as the fruit of mere contemplation, inward feeling, and a passive anquiescence in divine influences. Thus that ancient conflict between

The scholastic divines opposed from different quarters.

^k See Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 657.

^l The *Book of Sentences* seemed to be at this time in much greater repute than the holy scriptures, and the compilations of Peter Lombard were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ. This appears evident from the following remarkable passage in Roger Bacon's *Opp. Maj. ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom.* published in 1733, at London, by Sam. Jebb, from the original MSS. "Baccalaureus qui legit textum, *scripturæ*, succumbit lectori *sententiarum*, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et prefertur; nam ille, qui legit *sententias* habet principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium et cameram apud religiosos; sed qui legit *Bibliam*, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori *sententiarum*; et qui legit *summas*, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur, reliquis qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut fuit hoc anno Bononiæ, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum; manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis, *sc. Theologicæ*, subjicitur uni summæ magistrali." Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of Bacon, who lived in the following age, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

faith and *reason*, that had formerly divided the Latin doctors, and had been for many years hushed in silence, was now unhappily revived, and produced every where new tumults and dissensions. The patrons and defenders of the ancient theology, who attacked the schoolmen, were Guibert, abbot of Nogent,^m Peter, abbot of Moustier la Celle,ⁿ Peter the Chanter,^o and principally Walter of St. Victor.^p The mystics also sent forth into the field of controversy upon this occasion, their ablest and most violent champions, such as Joachim, abbot of Flori, Richard of St. Victor, who loaded with invectives the scholastic divines, and more especially Lombard, though he was undoubtedly the most candid and modest doctor of that subtile tribe. These dissensions and contests, whose deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged Alexander III. who was pontiff at this time, to interpose his authority, in order to restore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpose he convoked a solemn and numerous assembly of the clergy in the year 1164,^q in which the licentious rage of disputing about religious matters was condemned; and another in the year 1179, in which some particular errors of Peter Lombard were pointed out and censured.^r

x. But of all the adversaries that assailed the scholastic divines in this century, none was so formidable as the famous St. Bernard, whose zeal was ardent beyond all expression, and whose influence and authority were equal to his zeal. And accordingly, we find this illustrious abbot combating the dialecticians, not only in his writings and his conversation, but also by his deeds; arming against them synods and councils, the decrees of the church, and the laws of the state. The renowned Abelard, who was as much superior to St. Bernard in sagacity and erudition, as he was his inferior

And principally by St. Bernard.

^m In his *Tropologia in Oseam*, p. 203, Opp.

ⁿ *Opuscul.* p. 277, 396, edit. Benedict.

^o In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7, published at Mons in the year 1639, in 4to. by George Galopin.

^p In his *Libri iv. contra Quatuor Franciæ Labyrinthos et novos hæreticos*. He called Abelard, Gilbert de la Poree, Lombard, and Peter of Poitiers, who were the principal scholastic divines of this century, the four *Labyrinths of France*. For an account of this work, which is yet in manuscript, see Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619, 659.

^q Ant. Pagi *Critic. in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164, p. 614, 615.

^r Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 115. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

in credit and authority, was one of the first who felt, by a bitter experience, the aversion of the lordly abbot to the scholastic doctors; for in the year 1121, he was called before the council of Soissons, and before that of Sens in the year 1140, in both of which assemblies he was accused by St. Bernard of the most pernicious errors, and was finally condemned as an egregious heretic.^s The charge brought against this subtle and learned monk was, that he had notoriously corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blasphemed against the majesty of the Holy Ghost, entertained unworthy and false conceptions of the person and offices of Christ, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the necessity of the divine grace to render us virtuous, and in a word, that his doctrines struck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It must be confessed by those who are acquainted with the writings of Abelard, that he expressed himself in a very singular and incongruous manner upon several points of theology;^t and this indeed is one of the inconveniences to which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand, that St. Bernard, who had much more genius than logic, misunderstood some of the opinions of Abelard, and wilfully perverted others. For the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to consult in his decisions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almost always applauded beyond measure, and censured without mercy.^u

XI. Abelard was not the only scholastic divine who paid dear for his metaphysical refinement upon the doctrines of the gospel, and whose logic exposed him to the

^s See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Abelard. Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Héloïse*. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63, 84, 324, 395. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

^t He affirmed, for example, among other things equally unintelligible and extravagant, that the names *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, were improper terms, and were only used to express the fullness of the sovereign good; that the *Father* was the plenitude of power, the *Son* a certain power, and the *Holy Ghost* no power at all; that the *Holy Ghost* was the soul of the world, with other crude fancies of a like nature, mingled however with bold truths.

^u See Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard*, tom. ii. p. 162. Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ix. p. 352. Dionys. Petav. *Dogmata Theolog.* tom. i. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 217, as also the works of Bernard, *passim*. Abelard, who, notwithstanding all his crude notions, was a man of true genius, was undoubtedly worthy of a better fate than that which fell to his lot, and of a more enlightened age than that in which he lived. After passing through the furnace of persecution and having suffered afflictions of various kinds, of which he has transmitted the history to posterity, he retired to the monastery of Clugny, where he ended his days in the year 1142.

unrelenting fury of persecution ; Gilbert de la Poree, bishop of Poitiers, who had taught theology and philosophy at Paris, and in other places with the highest applause, met with the same fate. Unfortunately for him, Arnold and Calo, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day disputing with more subtilty than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before pope Eugenius III. who was at that time in France; and to give weight to their accusation, they gained over St. Bernard, and engaged him in their cause. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual vehemence, and opposed Gilbert with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of Paris, A. D. 1147, and afterward in that which was assembled at Rheims the year following. In this latter council the accused bishop, in order to put an end to the dispute, offered to submit his opinions to the judgment of the assembly, and of the Roman pontiff, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to Gilbert were the fruits of an excessive subtilty, and of an extravagant passion for reducing the doctrines of Christianity under the empire of metaphysic and dialectic. He distinguished the divine *essence* from the *Deity*, the *properties* of the three divine persons from the *persons* themselves, not in reality, but by abstraction, in *statu rationis*, as the metaphysicians speak ; and in consequence of these distinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To these he added other opinions derived from the same source, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite surprise by their novelty, than glaringly false, or really pernicious. These refined notions were far above the comprehension of good St. Bernard, who was by no means accustomed to such profound disquisitions, to such intricate researches.*

xii. The important science of morals was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which in this century, reduced all

The state of
moral and
practical the-
ology.

* See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 223, 232. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. vi. p. 343, 415, 433. *Gallia Christiana Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 1175. Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 56. Petavii *Dognata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147.

the other sciences under its dominion, and of which we have given some account in the preceding sections. The only moral writer among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is Philip, surnamed the *Solitary*, whose book entitled *Dioptra*, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

The Latin moralists of this age may be divided into two classes, the *scholastics* and *mystics*. The former discoursed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the most unfeeling jargon, and generally subjoined their arid system of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different manner; their language was tender, persuasive, and affecting, and their sentiments often beautiful and sublime; but they taught in a confused and irregular manner, without method or precision, and frequently mixed the dross of platonism with the pure treasures of celestial truth.

We might also place in the class of moral writers the greatest part of the commentators and expositors of this century, who, laying aside all attention to the signification of the words used by the sacred writers, and scarcely ever attempting to illustrate the truths they reveal, or the events which they relate, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every passage of scripture to practical uses, and drew lessons of morality from every quarter. We could produce many instances of this way of commenting beside Guibert's *Moral Observations on the book of Job, the Prophecy of Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah*.

xiii. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectical researches, that Polemic writers- raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not indeed the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable

authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were Constantinus Harmenopulus, and Euthymius Zigabenus. The former published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum*, i. e. concerning the *heretical sects*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various heresies and errors that troubled the church; but not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of disputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by Zonaras. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. Honorius of Autun wrote against certain heresies; and Abelard combated them all. The Jews whose credit was now entirely sunk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by Gilbert de Castillone, Odo, Petrus Alfonsus, Rupert of Duytz, Petrus Mauritius, Richardus a Sto. Victore, and Petrus Blesensis, according to the logic of the times, and Euthymius, with several other divines, directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

xiv. The contest between the Greeks and Latins, the subject of which has been already mentioned, was still carried on by both parties with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were Euthymius, Nicetas, and others of less renown, while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, and Hugo Etherianus, who distinguished themselves eminently by their erudition in this famous controversy.* Many attempts were made both at Rome and Constantinople, to reconcile these differences, and to heal these fatal divisions; and this union was solicited, in a particular manner, by the emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to draw much advantage from the friendship and alliance of the Latins, toward the support of the Grecian

* See Leo Allatius *De perpetua consensione Ecclesie Oriental. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

empire, which was at this time in a declining, nay, almost in a desperate condition. But as the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic supremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the other hand, the Grecian bishops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontiff, or to condemn the measures and proceedings of their ancestors, the negotiations, undertaken for the restoration of peace, widened the breach instead of healing it, and the terms proposed on both sides, but especially by the Latins, exasperated, instead of calming, the resentments and animosities of the contending parties.

xv. Many controversies of inferior moment were carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely fond of disputing, and were scarcely ever without debates upon religious matters. We shall not enter into a circumstantial narration of these theo-

Matters of less
moment con-
troverted a-
mong the
Greeks.

logical contests, which are more proper to fatigue than to amuse or instruct, but shall confine ourselves to a brief mention of those which made the greatest noise in the empire. Under the reign of Emanuel Comnenus, whose extensive learning was accompanied with an excessive curiosity, several theological controversies were carried on, in which he himself bore a principal part, and which fomented such discords and animosities among a people already exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as threatened their destruction. The first question that exercised the metaphysical talent of this over curious emperor and his subtile doctors was this; *In what sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the oblation.* When this knotty question had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a considerable time, the solution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments.⁷ What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find no where related in a satisfactory manner, and we are equally igno-

⁷ Nicetas Choniates. *Annal.* lib. vii. § 5, p. 112. ed Venetæ.

rant of the sentiments adopted by the church in relation to this question. It is highly probable that the emperor, followed by certain learned doctors, differed from the opinions generally received among the Greeks concerning the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of Christ in that holy ordinance.

xvi. Some years after this, a still more warm contest arose concerning the sense of those words of Christ, John xiv. 28, *For my Father is greater than I*, and divided the Greeks into the most bitter and deplorable factions. To the ancient explanations of that important passage, new illustrations were now added; and the emperor himself, who, from an indifferent prince, was become a wretched divine, published an exposition of that remarkable text, which he obtruded, as the only true sense of the words, upon a council assembled for that purpose, and was desirous of having received as a rule of faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained, that the words in question related to the *flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passable*, i. e. subject to suffering,² and not only ordered this decision to be engraven on tables of stone in the principal church of Constantinople, but also published an edict, in which capital punishments were denounced against all such as should presume to oppose this explication, or teach any doctrine repugnant to it.³ This edict however expired with the emperor by whom it was issued out, and Andronicus, upon his accession to the imperial throne, prohibited all those contests concerning speculative points of theology, that arose from an irregular and wanton curiosity, and suppressed, in a more particular manner, all inquiry into the subject now mentioned, by enacting the severest penalties against such as should in any way contribute to revive this dispute.^b

xvii. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the god of Mahomet. The Greek Chatechisms pronounced *anathema* against the deity worshipped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a *solid* and *sphe-*

^a Concerning the god of Mahomet.

² Κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κλίσιν καὶ παθῆναι σαρκά.

^a Nicetas Choniates, *Annal.* lib. vii. § 6, p. 113.

^b Nicetas in *Andronico*, lib. ii. § 5, p. 175.

rical being; ^c for so they translated the Arabian word *else-med*, which is applied in the *koran* to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is susceptible of that sense, though it also signifies *eternal*.^d The emperor ordered this *anathema* to be effaced in the Catechism of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the mahometans, who had either been already converted to Christianity, or were disposed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely shocked at such an insult offered to the name of God, with whatever restrictions and conditions it might be attended. The christian doctors, on the other hand, opposed with much resolution and vehemence this imperial order. They observed that the *anathema*, pronounced in the Catechism, had no relation to the nature of God in general, nor to the true God in particular; and that, on the contrary, it was solely directed against the error of Mahomet, against that phantom of a divinity which he had imagined. For that impostor pretended that the Deity could neither be *engendered* nor *engender*; whereas the christians adore God the *Father*. After the bitterest disputes concerning this abstruse subject, and various efforts to reconcile the contending parties, the bishops assembled in council, consented, though with the utmost difficulty, to transfer the *imprecation* of the Catechism from the god of Mahomet, to Mahomet himself, his doctrine, and his sect.^e

XVIII. The spirit of controversy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and various sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper were propagated, not only in the schools, but also in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of Berenger, yet many of them, and among others^f Rupert of Duytz, differed very little from the sentiments of that great man; at least, it is certain, that notwithstanding the famous controversy which had arisen in the church concerning the opinions of Berenger, nothing was, as yet, pre-

The controversy concerning the Lord's supper is carried on among the Latins.

^c Ολοσφαιρες.

^d Reland. *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. § 3, p. 142.

^e Nicetæ Chon. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

^f Boulay, *Histor. Academ. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 30.

cisely determined with respect to the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist.

Rupert had also religious contests of another nature with Anselm, bishop of Laon, William of Champeaux, and their disciples and followers, who maintained their doctrine when they were no more. The *divine will* and the *divine omnipotence* were the subjects of this controversy, and the question debated was, "Whether God *really willed*, and *actually produced* all things that exist, or whether there are certain things whose existence he *merely permits*, and whose production, instead of being the *effect of his will*, was contrary to it." The affirmative of the latter part of this question was maintained by Rupert, while his adversaries held that all things were the effects not only of the *divine power*, but also of the *divine will*. This learned abbot was also accused of having taught that the *angels were formed out of darkness*; that Christ *did not administer his body to Judas in the last supper*; and several other doctrines,^s contrary to the received opinions of the church.

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature, concerning what was called, the *immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*.^h Certain churches in France began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, as some authors report. The church of Lions was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St. Bernard, than he severely censured the canons of Lions on account of this innovation, and opposed the *immaculate conception of the Virgin* with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the canons of Lions, and adopting the new festival, while

As also that concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

^s See Mengoz, *Epistola*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290. Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20, 42, 168, 261.

^h The defenders of this *immaculate conception* maintained, that the Virgin Mary was *conceived* in the womb of her mother with the same *purity* that is attributed to Christ's conception in her womb.

others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard.ⁱ The controversy however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on during this century with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after times, when the dominicans were established in the academy of Paris, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated on both sides with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The dominicans declared for St. Bernard, while the academy patronized the canons of Lions, and adopted the new festival.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, nestorian, and jacobite pontiffs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was indeed almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, where all sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place. Thus some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church music; others again tortured their inventions to find out

Rites used in the Greek church.

ⁱ Sti. Bernardi *Epistola* 174, tom. i. p. 170. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 135. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327. Dom. Colonia, *Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233.

some new mark of veneration, that might be offered to the relics and images of the saints; while several ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous Rupert, or Robert of Duytz, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had hitherto been carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though, as we observed in the preceding chapter, St. Bernard and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over the counsels of the wise. So that, about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we know not, with any degree of certainty, by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated.^k

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE Greek and eastern churches were infested with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the most warm and violent contests. Certain of these fanatics, pro-

Fanatics of
different kinds
infest the
Greek church.

^k Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327, 412. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

fessed to believe in a double trinity, rejected wedlock, abstained from flesh, treated with the utmost contempt the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as also all the various branches of external worship; placed the essence of religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is said, that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breast of every mortal, and could be expelled from thence by no other method, than by perpetual supplications to the Supreme Being. The founder of this enthusiastical sect is said to have been a person called Lucopetrus. His chief disciple was named Tychicus who corrupted, by false and fanatical interpretations, several books of the sacred writings, and particularly the *Gospel according to St. Matthew*.¹ It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts indeed that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In Greece, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of *massalians*, or *euchites*,^m as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of *waldenses* and *albigenses*. It is however necessary to observe, that

¹ See Euthymii *Triumphus de Secta Massalianorum* in Jac. Tollii *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125.

^m *Massalians* and *euchites* are denominations that signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *persons that pray*. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor Constantius, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of Mesopotamia, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Dr. Mosheim to the massalians of the twelfth century. See August. *De Heres.* cap. lvii. and Theod. *Har. Fab.* lib. iv. Epiphanius speaks of another sort of *massalians* still more ancient, who were mere gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one whom they called *almighty*, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the massalians and essenes, induced Scaliger to think that Epiphanius confounded the former with the latter.

the names abovementioned were very vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied by the Greeks and the orientals, who made use of them to characterize, without distinction, all such as complained of the multitude of useless ceremonies, and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard to the difference that there was between such persons in point of principles and morals. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of massalians, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the christian character.

11. From the sect now mentioned, that of the *bogomiles* is said to have proceeded, whose founder, Basilus, a monk by profession, was burnt at Constantinople, under the reign of Alexius Comnenus, after all attempts to make him renounce his errors had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught, it appears sufficiently evident, that his doctrine resembled, in a striking manner, the religious system of the ancient gnostics and manichæans; though, at the same time, it is possible that the Greeks may have falsified his tenets in some respects. Basilus maintained, that the world and all animal bodies were formed not by the Deity, but by an evil demon, who had been cast down from heaven by the Supreme Being; from whence he concluded, that the body was no more than the prison of the immortal spirit, and that it was therefore to be enervated by fasting, contemplation, and other exercises, that so the soul might be gradually restored to its primitive liberty; for this purpose also wedlock was to be avoided, with many other circumstances which we have often had occasion to explain and repeat in the course of this history. It was in consequence of the same principles, that this unfortunate enthusiast denied the *reality* of Christ's body, which, like the gnostics and manichæans, he considered only as a phantom, rejected the law of Moses, and maintained that the body, upon its separation by death, returned to the malignant mass of matter, without either the prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and

also in the history of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that some one of them more enterprising than the rest should found a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from the *divine mercy*, which its members are said to have incessantly implored; for the word *bogomilus*, in the Mysian language, signifies *calling out for mercy from above*.ⁿ

III. The Latin sects were yet more numerous than those of the Greeks, and this will not appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of religion in the greatest part of the European provinces. The Latin sects, and the abuses from whence they sprung. The reign of superstition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops, the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of *indulgences*, increasing from day to day, several pious, though weak men, who had the cause of Christ and of his religion at heart, easily perceived that both were in a most declining and miserable state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and lustre. But the knowledge of these good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greatest part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and involved in the general ignorance of the times, understood but very imperfectly the holy scriptures, from whence Christianity was derived, and by which the abuses that had been mingled with it could only be reformed. In a word, few of these well meaning christians were equal to an attempt so difficult and arduous as a universal reformation; and the consequence of this was, that while they avoided the reigning abuses, they fell into others that were as little consistent with the genius of true religion, and carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such an excessive length, that it degenerated often into the various extravagances of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the christian cause.

ⁿ See Anna Comnena *Alexiados*, lib. xv. p. 384, edit. Venetæ. Zonaras *Annalium*, lib. xviii. p. 336. Jo. Christ. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Witteberg, in 4to. 1712. Sam. Andreæ *Diss. Bogomilis* in Jo. Voigtii *Bibliotheca Historiæ Heresiologicæ*, tom. i. part ii. p. 121. Chr. Aug. Heumannii *Dissertat. de Bogomilis*.

iv. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the *catharists*, whom we have had already occasion to mention.* This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in Bulgaria, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned much tumult and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were caught, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty.† Their religion resembled the doctrine of the manichæans and gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed from the genuine and primitive manichæans in many respects. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine; viz. that matter was the source of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that Christ was not clothed with a real body, neither could be properly said to have been born, or to have seen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle; and that baptism and the Lord's supper were useless institutions destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*; and to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained that human souls, endued with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind.‡

v. These principles and tenets, though they were adopted and professed by the whole sect, yet were differently interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the *catharists* were divided into

The catharists
divided into
two sects.

* See cent. iii. part ii. ch. v. § xviii. but principally for that sort of *catharists* here mentioned, see above cent. xi. part ii. ch. v. § ii.

† See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted sect by Charles Plessis D'Argentre in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which however several circumstances are omitted.

‡ Beside the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p.

various sects, which however, on account of the general persecution in which they were all involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, disputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by intestine feuds and animosities. Out of these different factions arose two leading and principal sects of the *catharists*, which were distinguished from the rest by the number of their respective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one approached pretty nearly to the manichæan system, held the doctrine of *two eternal Beings*, from whom all things are derived, the *God of light*, who was also the Father of Jesus Christ, and the *principle of darkness*, whom they considered as the author of the material world. The other believed in *one eternal principle*, the Father of Christ, and the Supreme God, by whom also they held that the *first matter* was created; but they added to this, that the *evil being*, after his rebellion against God and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, in order to the production of this visible world. The former maintained, that Christ being clothed with a celestial body descended thus into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his substance from her; while the latter taught, that he first assumed a real body in the womb of Mary, though not *from her*.^r The sect, which held the doctrine of *two principles*, were called *albanenses*, from the name of the place where their spiritual ruler resided; and this sect was subdivided into two, of which one took the name of Balazinansa, bishop of Verona, and the other that of John de Lugio, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which adhered to the doctrine of *one eternal principle*, was also subdivided into the congregation of Baioli, the capital town of the province, and that of Concoregio, or Concorezzo. The *albigenses*, who were settled in France, belonged to the church or congregation of Baioli.*

1703, as also Bonacursi *Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum* in Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

^r See Bern. Moneta, in *summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, published at Rome, in the year 1743, by Thom. August. Richini, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the *cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. Moneta was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See lib. i. p. 2, et 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.

* Raineri Sachoni *summa de Catharis et Leonistis* in Martene *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom.

VI. In the internal constitution of the church that was founded by this sect, there were many rules and principles of a singular nature, which we pass over in silence, as they would oblige us to enter into a detail inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this work. The government of this church was administered by *bishops*, and each bishop had two vicars, of whom one was called the *eldest son*, and the other the *younger*; while the rest of the clergy and doctors were comprehended under the general denomination of *deacons*.[†] The veneration which the people had for the clergy in general, and more especially for the bishops and their spiritual sons, was carried to a length that almost exceeds credibility. The discipline observed by this sect was so excessively rigid and austere, that it was practicable only by a certain number of robust and determined fanatics. But that such as were not able to undergo this discipline might not on that account be lost to the cause, it was thought necessary, in imitation of the ancient manichæans, to divide this sect into two classes, one of which was distinguished by the title of the *consolati*, i. e. *comforted*, while the other received only the denomination of *confederates*. The former gave themselves out for persons of consummate wisdom and extraordinary piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of the severest mortification and abstinence, without ever allowing themselves the enjoyment of any worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few particular rules which they observed, lived like the rest of mankind, but at the same time were obliged by a solemn agreement they had made with the church, and which in Italian they called *la convenenza*, to enter before their death, in their last moments, if not sooner, into the class of the *comforted*, and to receive the *consolamentum*, which was

v. p. 1761, 1768. Peregrinus Prescicianus in Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 93, who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different sects, but by a mistake places the *albigenses*, who were a branch of the *baioleses*, in the place of the *albanenses*; this perhaps may be an error of the press. The opinions of these *baioleses*, or *bagnolenses*, may be seen in the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae* which Limborch published with the *History of the Inquisition*. The account however which we have in that history, book i. ch. viii. of the opinions of the *albigenses* is by no means accurate. A great variety of causes has contributed to involve in darkness and perplexity the distinctive characters of these different sects, whose respective systems we cannot enlarge upon at present.

[†] See Sachoni *summa de Catharis*, p. 1766.

the form of inauguration by which they were introduced into that fanatical order.^u

vii. A much more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in Languedoc and Provence by Peter de Bruys, who made the most The petrobrussians. laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at St. Giles's in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this new reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the *petrobrussians*, his disciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his system; 1. That no persons whatever were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of their reason. 2. That it was an idle superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected were to be pulled down and destroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, deserved the same fate. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. 5. And lastly, that the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be in no respect advantageous to the dead.^w

viii. This innovator was succeeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was Henry, the founder and parent of the sect called *henricians*. The henricians. It was no doubt a rare thing to see a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case with Henry, who leaving Lausanne, a city in Switzerland, travelled to Mans, and being banished thence,

^u For a further account of this sect, see the writers mentioned above, and particularly the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*.

^w See Petri Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobrussianos in *Bibliotheca Cluniensi*, p. 1117. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, period iv. p. 140.

removed successively to Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and the countries adjacent, and at length to Thoulouse in the year 1147, exercising his ministerial function in all these places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming, with the greatest vehemence and fervour, against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had introduced into the christian church. At Thoulouse he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard, by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized in his retreat by a certain bishop, he was carried before pope Eugenius III. who presided in person at a council then assembled at Rheims, and who, in consequence of the accusations brought against Henry, committed him, in the year 1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time after this, he ended his days.* We have no accurate account of the doctrines of this reformer transmitted to our times. All we know of that matter is, that he rejected the baptism of infants; censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy; treated the festivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was the disciple of Peter de Bruys; but I cannot see upon what evidence or authority this assertion is grounded.†

ix. While the henricians were propagating their doctrines in France, a certain illiterate man, called Tanquelinus, or Tanquelmus, arose in Brabant about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable commotions at Antwerp, and drew after him a most numerous sect. If the accounts that are given us of this heresiarch by his adversaries may be at all depended upon, he must either have been a monstrous impostor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked in public with the greatest so-

The horrid blasphemy of Tanquelinus.

* *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomaneus.* in Mabillon, *Analect. veter. ævi*, p. 315, ed. nov. Gantridi *Epistola in Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi.* tom. ii. Opp. *Bernhard.* p. 1207. Matth. *Hist. Major*, p. 71. Mabillon, *Pref. ad Opera Bernardi*, § vi. et *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346, 420, 434.

† That Henry was the disciple of Peter de Bruys is not at all probable; since, not to insist upon other reasons, the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, and in all likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes which he had committed to the flames; whereas the former, when he entered into any city, appeared with a cross in his hand, which he bore as a standard, to attract the veneration of the people. See Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 316.

lemnity, pretended to be God, or at least the son of God, ordered daughters to be ravished in presence of their mothers, and committed himself the greatest disorders. Such are the enormities that are attributed to Tanquelmus, but they are absolutely incredible, and therefore cannot be true.² What seems most worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the mystics; that he treated with contempt the external worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assemblies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, beside all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed against their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood. Be that as it may, the fate of Tanquelmus was unhappy, for he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner. His sect however did not perish with him, but acquired strength and vigour under the ministry of his disciples, until it was at length extinguished by the famous St. Norbert, the founder of the order of *præmonstratenses*, or *premontres*.³

x. In Italy Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, but also of a turbulent and impetuous spirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and state. He was indeed condemned, in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by Innocent II. and thereby obliged to retire into Switzerland; but, upon the death of that pontiff, he returned into Italy, and raised at Rome, during the pontificate of Eugenius III. several tumults and seditions among the people, who changed, by his instigation, the government of the city, and insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell however at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for after various turns of fortune, he was seized, in the year 1155, by a præfect of the city, by whom he

Seditions excited in Italy by Arnold of Brescia.

² *Epistola Traiectens. Ecclesiae ad Tridericum Episcopum de Tanchelmo*, in Sel. Tenguagelii *Collectione Veterum Monumentor.* p. 368. Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

³ Lewis Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*, livr. ii. p. 126. Chrys. vander Sterre *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. xxxvi. p. 164, and Polyc. de Hertoghe, *ad illam Annotationes*, p. 357.

was crucified, and afterward burned to ashes. This unhappy man seems not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion; and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, applied without discernment and discretion, and executed with a degree of vehemence which was as criminal as it was imprudent. Having perceived the discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders, that sprung from the overgrown opulence of the pontiffs and bishops, he was persuaded that the interests of the church, and the happiness of nations in general required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal rights and prerogatives. He therefore maintained publicly, that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be solemnly resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tithes, and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people.^b This violent reformer, in whose character and manners there were several things worthy of esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples, who derived from him the denomination of *arnoldists*, and in succeeding times, discovered the spirit and intrepidity of their leader, as often as any favourable opportunities of reforming the church were offered to their zeal.

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century, none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the waldenses, so called from their parent and founder Peter Waldus. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called *the poor men of Lions*,^c or *leonists*, and from the

^b The origin and history of the waldenses.

^b See Otto *Frising. de gestis Frederici I.* lib. ii. cap. xx. S. Bernhardus *Epist.* 195, 196, tom. i. p. 187. Boulay *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157. Muratorii *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 137. Henr. de Bunau *Vita Frederici I.* p. 41. *Chaufepied Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 482.

^c They were called *leonists* from Leona, the ancient name of Lyons, where their sect took its rise. The more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress toward perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their external appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language

wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *insabbatati*, or *sabbatati*.^d The origin of this famous sect was as follows; Peter, an opulent merchant of Lions, surnamed *Valdensis* or *Falidisius*, from Vaux, or Waldum, a town in the marquisate of Lions, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and christian knowledge, employed a certain priest,^e about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of holy scripture, and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which was originally inculcated by Christ and his apostles. Struck with this glaring contradiction between the doctrines of the pontiffs and the truths of the gospel, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor,^f and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in the year 1180, to assume the quality of a public teacher, and to instruct the multitude in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. The archbishop of Lions, and the other rulers of the church in that province, opposed with vigour, this new doctor in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of that religion which these good men taught, the spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours which was conspicuous in the whole of their conduct and conversation, appeared so engaging to all such as had any sense of true piety, that the number of their disciples and followers increased from

are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon these shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the denominations of *sabbatati* and *insabbatati*. See *Du Fresne Glossarium Latin. medii ævi*, vi. voce *Sabbatati*, p. 4. Nicol. Eumerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part iii. N. 112, &c.

^d See Steph. de Borbone *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, in Echard et Quetif *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192. Anonym. *Tractatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in Martene *Thesouro Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

^e This priest was called Stephanus De Evisa.

^f It was on this account that the waldenses were called *Pauvres de Lyons*, or *poor men of Lyons*.

day to day.² They accordingly formed religious assemblies first in France, and afterward in Lombardy, from whence they propagated their sect throughout the other provinces of Europe with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause.³

xii. The attempts of Peter Waldus and his followers were neither employed nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to christians. All they

The doctrine, discipline, and views of the waldenses.

§ Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *waldenses*, and suppose that they were so called from the vallies in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But these writers have no authority to support this assertion, and beside this, they are refuted amply by the best historians. I do not mean to deny, that there were in the *vallies of Piedmont* long before this period, a set of men, who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of Rome, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of the waldenses; all that I maintain is that these inhabitants of the vallies above mentioned are to be carefully distinguished from the waldenses, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of Lyons, and derived their name from Peter Waldus, their founder and chief. ¶ We may venture to affirm the contrary with the learned Beza and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that Valdus derived his name from the true *waldenses* of Piedmont, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *vaudois* and *waldenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *waldenses* or *waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the ninth century, and was the contemporary and chief counsellor of Berengarius. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their vallies in Piedmont, which in their language are called Vaux, hence *voidois*, their true name; hence Peter, or as others call him, John of Lyons, was called in Latin, *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine, and hence the term *waldenses* and *waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *waldenses*, lived but about eighty years after Valdus of Lyons, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *waldenses* or *leonists*; and yet it is remarkable, that he speaks of the *leonists*, mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page as synonymous with waldenses, as a sect that had flourished above five hundred years; nay, mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the apostolic age. See the account given of Sacco's book by the jesuit Greiser, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the *vallies of Piedmont* are to be carefully distinguished from the *waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of Leger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless. When the papists ask us *where our religion was before Luther*, we generally answer, *in the bible*; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *tradition and human authority*, we may add to this answer, and *in the vallies of Piedmont*.

¹ See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question, viz. Sachoni *Summa contra Valdenses*. Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published by Richini. *Tr. de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777. Pilichdorffius *contra Valdenses*, t. xxv. B. B. Max. *Patr.* Add to these authors, Jo. Paul Perrin *Histoire de Vaudois*, published at Geneva in 1619. Jo. Leger, *Histoire Generale, des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136. Usseuii *De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209. Jac. Basnage *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. period iv. p. 329. Thom. August. Richini *Dissertat. de Valdensibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa* Monetæ, p. 36. Boulay *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 292.

aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, that characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under Constantine the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and maintained that the rulers and ministers of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and to procure for themselves a subsistence by the work of their hands. They considered every christian, as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the church, i. e. the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the new invented doctrine of *indulgences* had almost totally abolished. They at the same time affirmed, that every pious christian was qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of *satisfaction* or expiation that their transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification. affirming. that they were immediately, upon the separation from the body, received into heaven, or thrust down to hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ on the mount, which they

interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and of consequence, prohibited and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts toward the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds.ⁱ

XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the waldenses, to *bishops*,^k *presbyters* and *deacons*; for they acknowledged that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they looked upon it as absolutely necessary, that all these orders should resemble exactly the apostles of the divine Saviour, and be like them, illiterate, poor, destitute of all worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence.^l The laity were divided into two classes; one of which contained the *perfect* and the other the *imperfect* christians. The former spontaneously divested themselves of all worldly possessions, manifested, in the wretchedness of their apparel, their excessive poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less austere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abstained, like the graver sort of anabaptists in later times, from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is however to be observed, that the waldenses were not without their intestine divisions. Such of them as lived in Italy differed considerably in their opinions from those who dwelt in France and the other European nations. The former considered the church of Rome as the church of Christ, though much corrupted and sadly disfigured: they acknowledged moreover the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly declared that they would continue

ⁱ See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosonæ*, published by Limborch, as also the *Summa Monetæ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the waldenses, and show plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the church.

^k The bishops were also called, *majorales* or *elders*.

^l The greatest part of the *waldenses* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole sect in certain places were called the *sect of weavers*.

The form
of church gov-
ernment a-
mong the wal-
denses.

always in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was deprived of the Holy Spirit and was, in reality, that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations of St. John*.^m

xiv. Beside these famous sects, which made a great noise in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the bosom of a corrupt and superstitious church, there were other religious *factions* of lesser importance, which arose in Italy, and more especially in France, though they seem to have expired soon after their birth.ⁿ In Lombardy, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprung up a very singular sect, known by the denomination of *pasaginians*,^o and also by that of the *circumcised*. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of Rome; but they were at the same time distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observation of the law of Moses, in every thing except the offering of sacrifices, was obligatory upon christians, in consequence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic economy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature; for the *pasaginians* maintained that Christ was no more than the *first and purest creature of God*; nor will their adopting this opinion seem so surprising, if we consider the prodigious number of arians that were scattered throughout Italy long before this period of time.^p

Sects of a less
eminent kind.
The pasagini.

^m Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406, 416, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of Stephanus de Borbone, in Echardi *Scriptoribus Dominicæanis*, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *waldenses* into two classes; *The poor men of Lions*, and *The poor men of Lombardy*. The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions: the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

ⁿ For an account of these obscurer sects, see Stephanus de Borbone, in Echardi *Scriptoribus Dominicæanis*, tom. i. p. 191.

^o The origin of the name *pasagini*, or *pasagii*, is not known.

^p See F. Bonacursi *Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*, in Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegio, Veler. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211, edit. nov. Gerhard. *Bergamensis contra Catharos et Pasagios*, in Lud. Anton. Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 151.

xv. A set of fanatics, called *caputiati*, from a singular kind of cap that was the badge of their faction, The caputiati. infested the province of Burgundy, the diocese of Auxerre, and several other parts of France, in all which places they excited much disturbance among the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden image of the Virgin Mary, and they declared publicly, that their purpose was to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subordination among mankind, and to restore that primitive liberty, that natural equality that were the inestimable privileges of the first mortals. Hugo, bishop of Auxerre, attacked these disturbers of human society in the proper manner, employing against them the force of arms, instead of arguments.^q

The sect of the *apostolics*, whom St. Bernard opposed with such bitterness and fury, and who were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknowledged, because they professed to exhibit in their lives and manners the piety and virtues of the holy apostles, were very different from the audacious heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did they form themselves into a sect, than they drew after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. Bernard confesses, was free from error, and their lives and manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet they were reprehensible, on account of the following peculiarities; 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath. 2. They suffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, so that their aspect was inexpressibly extravagant and savage. 3. They preferred celibacy before wedlock, and called themselves the *chaste brethren and sisters*. Notwithstanding which, 4. Each man had a spiritual sister with him, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived in a domestic relation, lying in the same chamber with her, though not in the same bed.^r

xvi. In the council which was assembled at Rheims in the year 1148, and at which pope Eugenius III. Eon, a wrong-headed fanatic. presided, a certain gentleman of the province of Bretagne, whose name was Eon, and whose brain

^q Jac. Le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317.

^r St. Bernardus, *Sermo lxx. in Canticum*, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495, edit. Mabillon.

was undoubtedly disordered, was condemned for pretending to be the son of God. Having heard, in the form that was used for exorcising malignant spirits, these words pronounced: *per Eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*, he concluded, from the resemblance that there was between the word Eum and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should rather have been delivered over to the physicians, than placed in the list of heretics. He ended his days in a miserable prison, and left a considerable number of followers and adherents, whom persecution and death in the most dreadful forms could not persuade to abandon his cause, or to renounce an absurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in such a place as bedlam.^s This remarkable example is sufficient to show, not only the astonishing credulity of the stupid multitude, but also how far even the rulers of the church were destitute of judgment, and strangers to the knowledge of true and genuine religion.

^s Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 68. Gul. Neubrigensis, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 241.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of Genghizkan, the mighty emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Moguls, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and having reduced China, India, and Persia, under their yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the christian assemblies which were established in these vanquished lands;^a yet we learn from the best accounts, and the most respectable authorities, that both in China and in the northern parts of Asia, the nestorians continued to have a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls had no great aversion to the christian religion; nay, it appears from authentic records, that several kings and grandees of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the nestorians.^b But the religion of Mahomet, which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these noble converts, opposed with success the progress of the gospel, and in process of time, triumphed over it so far, that not the least glimpse or remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of these eastern princes.

The state of Christianity in the northern parts of Asia and in China.

^a Gregor. Abulpharaius, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281.

^b See Marc. Paul. Venetus, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi. Haytho the Armenian's *Histor. Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35, cap. xxiii. p. 39, cap. xxiv. p. 41. Jos. Sim. Assemani's *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 526. See particularly the *Ecclesiastical History of the Tartars*, published in Latin at Helmstadt, in the year 1741, in 4to.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into Europe in the year 1241, and having laid waste, with the most unrelenting and savage barbarity, Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontiffs thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm the fury, and soften the ferocity of these new and formidable enemies. For this purpose, Innocent IV. sent an embassy to the Tartars, which consisted in a certain number of dominican and franciscan friars.^c In the year 1274, Abaka, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent ambassadors to the council of Lyons, which was held under the pontificate of Gregory X.^d About four years after this, pope Nicolas III. paid the same compliment to Coblai, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy of franciscan monks, with a view to render that prince propitious to the christian cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall mention at present, was that of Johannes a Monte Corvino, who was sent in company with other ecclesiastics to the same emperor, by Nicolas IV. and who carried letters to the nestorians from that zealous pontiff. This mission was far from being useless, since these spiritual ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, engaged considerable numbers of the nestorians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and erected churches in different parts of Tartary and China. In order to accelerate the propagation of the gospel among these darkened nations, Johannes a Monte Corvino, translated the *New Testament* and the *Psalms of David* into the language of the Tartars.^e

III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the christian cause in Palestine, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had learned, by a delicious experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glo-

^c See Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116, 149, 175, 256.

^d Wadding, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. p. 35, tom. v. p. 128. See particularly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that passed between the pontiffs and the Tartars, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*, already mentioned.

^e Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Ecclesiastic.* tom. xiv. ad A. 1278, § 17, p. 282, et ad A. 1289, § 59, p. 419, edit. Colon. Pierre Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*.

ry; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions.^f Innocent III. therefore sounded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length however after many unsuccessful attempts in different countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. Beside, the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course toward Palestine, sailed directly for Constantinople, and in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, who had usurped the empire. The year following a dreadful sedition was raised at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death, and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ringleader of this furious faction.^g The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of Constantinople for the second time, de-throned and drove from the city the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose Theodore Lascaris, who chose Nice in Bithynia for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at Nice; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at Constantinople, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general, Cæsar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and forced the

^f This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 174, 364, *et passim*.

^g & The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this ringleader, by mistake, John Ducas.

Latin emperor, Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in Italy. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after a duration of fifty seven years.^b

iv. Another sacred expedition was undertaken in the year 1217, under the pontificate of Honorius III. by the confederate arms of Italy and Germany. Another crusade undertaken. The allied army was commanded in chief by Andrew, king of Hungary, who was joined by Leopold, duke of Austria, Lewis of Bavaria, and several other princes. After a few months absence, Andrew returned into Europe. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and in the year 1220, made themselves masters of Damietta, the strongest city in Egypt; but their prosperity was of a short duration, for the year following, their fleet was totally ruined by that of the Saracens, their provisions cut off, and their army reduced to the greatest straits and difficulties. This irreparable loss was followed by that of Damietta, which blasted all their hopes, and removed the flattering prospects which their successful beginnings had presented to their expectations.ⁱ

v. The legates and missionaries of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the christian cause in Palestine, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. An historical view of the other crusades, each in their order. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of Europe, and that so much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor Frederic II. That prince had indeed obliged himself by a solemn promise, made to the Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a

^b See, for a full account of this empire, Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Francois*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquete de la Ville de Constantinople par les Francois*, written by Godfrey de Ville Harduin, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also Claude Fouutenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216. Guntheri Monachi *Histor. captæ a Latinis Constantinopoleos*, in Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1. Innocentii III. *Epistol. a Baluzio editæ*, passim.

ⁱ See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Histor. Oriental.* and Martin Sanctus, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bazarasianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos*.

new degree of force to this engagement, and seemed to render the violation of it impossible, was the marriage that Frederic had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of Brienne, and king of Jerusalem, by which alliance, that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff, Gregory IX.^k he followed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts toward peace, and without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with Melic Camel, sultan of Egypt. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that Frederic should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem; this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands, and having thus settled matters in Palestine, he returned without delay into Italy, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had been yet undertaken against the infidels.^l

vi. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, Theobald

^k This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting Frederic to accelerate his departure for Palestine, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his ambassador at Rome, and showed that the reasons of his delay were solid and just, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had pretended. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter to Henry III king of England in which he complains of the insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and hypocritical proceedings of the Roman pontiffs. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxix. tom xvi p 601, edit Bruxelles.

^l See the writers that have composed the History of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of Frederic II. See also Muratori *Annales Italice*, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

VI.^m count of Champagne and king of Navarre set out from Marseilles for the holy land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, the year following, Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. The issue of these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor'sⁿ ambassadors in Palestine, who renewed the truce with the mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of christians were defeated at Gaza, and such as escaped the carnage returned into Europe. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of Richard, which had been industriously retarded by Gregory IX. and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do, was to enter, with the consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of Egypt in the year 1241, after which Richard immediately set sail for Europe.^o

VII. The affairs of the christians in the east, declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when Lewis IX. king of France, who was canonized after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in consequence of a vow which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness, that he undertook this arduous task, and in the execution of it, he set sail for Egypt with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest of this province would enable

^m Dr. Mosheim calls him, by a mistake, Theobald V. unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press.

ⁿ Frederic II. who had still a great party in Palestine, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, Gregory IX. from which division the christian cause suffered much.

^o All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned George Christ. Gebaverus, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34. It appears however by the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, that Richard was created by Frederic II. his lord lieutenant of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and this furnishes a probable reason why Gregory IX. used all possible means to retard Richard's voyage.

him to carry on the war in Syria and Palestine with more facility and success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory; for Damietta, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the mahometans, in the year 1250; Robert, earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and a few days after, the king himself, with two more of his brothers,* and the greatest part of his army were taken prisoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price,^a and after having spent about four years in Palestine, returned into France, in the year 1254, with a handful of men,^r the miserable remains of his formidable army.

viii. No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible spirit of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in Palestine. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for Africa, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and nobles, and proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in Asia. Immediately after his arrival upon the African coast, he made himself master of the fort of Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a fa-

A second crusade undertaken by the same monarch.

[†] P Alphonse, earl of Poitiers, and Charles, earl of Arjou.

[†] q The ransom, which, together with the restoration of Damietta, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thousand gold bezants, and not eighty thousand as Collier erroneously reckons.* This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money; would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling.

^r Of two thousand eight hundred illustrious knights, who set out with Lewis from France, there remained about one hundred when he sailed from Palestine. See Joinville's *Hist. de S. Louis IX.* p. 81.

See Collier's *Ess. Hist. cent. xiii.* vol. i. p. 157.

tal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet, in the harbour of Tunis, carried off the greatest part of the army, and seized at length the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270.* Lewis was the last of the European princes that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expenses that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of Ptolemais, or Acra, by the mahometans, it was entirely overthrown.† It is natural to inquire into the true causes that contributed to this unhappy revolution in Palestine; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the councils or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the christian armies, in the profligate lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

ix. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the pagan superstitions and prejudices, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained still the idolatrous worship of their ancestors with the most obstinate perseverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the missionaries that were sent among them, from time to time, produce the least effect upon their stubborn and intractable spirits. The brutish firmness of these pagans induced Conrad, duke of Massovia, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to bring

Conversion of
the Prussians.

* Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for an ampler account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et des Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne*, Paris, 1688, fol. See also Filleau de la Chaize, *Histoire de S. Louis*, Paris, 1688, two vol. in 8vo. Menconis *Chronicon*, in Ant. Matthæi *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172, 179. Luc. Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294, 307, et passim. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 212, 392, &c. Pierre Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337, 405, 575.

† Ant. Matthæi *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748. Jac. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422. Imola in *Dantem*, in *Muratorii Antiq. Italice mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 3111, 1112.

about their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who, after their expulsion from Palestine, had settled at Venice, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in Prussia, under the command of Herman de Saltza, and after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the christian faith.* After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in Prussia, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Lithuania, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author.†

x. In Spain the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of Valentia, Granada, and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were Ferdinand, king of Leon and Castile, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Calendar, his father Alphonsus IX. king of Leon, and James I. king of Arragon.‡ The latter, more especially, distin-

Of the Arabians in Spain.

* See Matthæi *Analecta vet ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18, tom. v. p. 684—689. Petri de Duisburgh, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, published by Hartknochius, at Jena, in the year 1679. Christoph. Hartknochius, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book i. ch. i. p. 33, and *Antiquitates Prussiæ*. Diss. xiv. p. 201. Balusii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427, 478. Waddingi *Annales Minor*. tom. iv. p. 40, 63. Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

† Beside the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see Ludwegii *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

‡ See Joh Ferreras, *History of Spain*, vol. iv.

guished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of Valentia, in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona, in which a considerable number of youths were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. exhorted the king to drive the mahometans out of Spain. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate pontiff; in the execution of which however he met with much difficulty; both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other.^y

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE accounts we have already given of the conquests of the Tartars, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the christians were reduced in Asia; and had the Saracens been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have remained a single christian in that part of the world. But though these infidels were chargeable with various crimes and had frequently treated the christians in a rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with horror upon those scenes of persecution, which the Latins exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and consid-

The unhappy state of the affairs of the christians in the east.

^y See Geddes, his *History of the expulsion of the Moriscos*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

ered it as the highest and most atrocious mark of cruelty and injustice to force unhappy men, by fire and sword, to abandon their religious principles, or to put them to death merely because they refused to change their opinions. After the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring into the dark and solitary recesses of mount Liban, lived there in a savage manner, and lost by degrees all sense both of religion and humanity, as appears in the conduct and characters of their descendants, who still inhabit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and religion.^a

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of Christianity, while others went so far as atheistically to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. Complaints of infidelity and atheism among the Latins. These complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet far from being entirely destitute of foundation; and the superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines, among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependants exhibited as the true religion of Christ, and maintained, by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers, and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of Aristotle, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and in-

^a A certain tribe, called Derusi, or Drusi, who inhabit the recesses of the mounts Liban and Antiliban, pretend to descend from the ancient Franks, who were once masters of Palestine. This derivation is indeed doubtful. It is however certain, that there still remain in these countries, descendants of those whom the holy war brought from Europe into Palestine; though they do very little honour to their ancestors, and have nothing of christians but the name.

tricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon.^a

iii. If the accusations brought against Frederic II. by the Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malignant enemies of the christian religion, since he was charged by Gregory with having said, that *the world had been deceived by three impostors*, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet.^b This charge was answered by a solemn and public profession of his faith, which the emperor addressed to all the kings and princes of Europe, to whom also had been addressed the accusation brought against him by the pontiff. The accusation however was founded upon the testimony of Henry Raspon, landgrave of Thuringia, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blas-

Frederic II.
accused of im-
piety.

^a See Sti. Thomæ *Summa contra gentes*, and Bernhærdi Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*. This latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great spirit, the enemies of Christianity which appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416, he disputes, in an ample and copious manner, against those who affirmed, that *the soul perished with the body*; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. those aristotelian philosophers, who held, that the world had existed from all eternity, and would never have an end; and in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554, he attacks those, who, despising the authority of the sacred writings, deny the existence of human liberty, and maintain that all things, and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an absolute and irresistible necessity. Add to these authors, Stephani Tempierii, *Episcopi Parisiensis, Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetiæ publice privatimque docebantur*, Anno 1277, in *Bibliotheca patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233, as al-o Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris* tom. iii. p. 433, and Gerardi du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, "that there was only one intellect among all the human race; that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity; that the universe was not governed by a divine providence; that the world was eternal, and the soul mortal;" and they maintained these and such like monstrous errors by arguments drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle. But at the same time, to avoid the just resentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler against their adversaries, that most dangerous and pernicious distinction between *theological* and *philosophical truth*, which has been since used, with the utmost cunning and bad faith, by the more recent aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "These things," said they, as we learn from Stephen Tempier, "are true in philosophy, but not according to the catholic faith. Vera sunt hæc secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam."

^b Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 403, 459. Petr. de Vineis, *Epistolarum*, lib. i.

phemy abovementioned.^c It is, after all, difficult to decide with sufficient evidence concerning the truth of this fact. Frederic, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may perhaps, in a fit of rage, have let some such expression as this escape his reflection, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under consideration. It was this affair that gave occasion, in after times, to the invention of that fabulous account,^d which supposes the detestable book *concerning the three impostors*, to have been composed by the emperor himself, or by Peter de Vineis, a native of Capua, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince^e had chosen for his prime minister, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

^c Herm. Gygantis *Flores temporum*, p. 126. Chr. Frid. Ayrmann, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

^d See Casim. Oudini *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. p. 66. Alb. Henr. de Sallengre, *Memoirs d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. i. part i. p. 386.

^e The book entitled, *Liber de iii Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simon of Tournay, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this; "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the christians by Jesus, and the gentiles by Mahomet." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor Frederic, and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed, by different authors, to Frederic, to his chancellor Peter de Vineis, to Alphonso, king of Castile, to Boccace, Pogge, the Aretins, Pomponace, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the groundwork or materials from whence these hieling compilers, by modifying some passages, and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See La Monnoye's *Dissertation sur le Livre de iii Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam, in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an *answer* to this dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article *Impostoribus*.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they still retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were Nicetas, Choniates, Georgius Acropolita, Gregorius Pachymeres, and Joel, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of Gregory Pachymeres, and Nicephorus Blemmida, that the peripatetic philosophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks; though the platonic was most in vogue. The greatest part of the Grecian philosophers, following the example of the later platonists, whose works were the subject of their constant meditation, inclined to reduce the wisdom of Plato, and the subtilties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished themselves in the controversy with the Latin church, or of those who employed their learned labours in illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was Gregory Abul Farai, primate of the jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher.^a George Elma-

^a See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Abulpharage; as also Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

cin, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and of consequence, flourished with increasing vigour, from day to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions learned men from all parts of the world, nourished the arts in their bosom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progress with the most noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon such as excelled, the most honourable distinctions. Among these patrons and protectors of learning, the emperor Frederic II. and Alphonsus X. king of Leon and Castile, two princes as much distinguished by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius, acquired the highest renown, and rendered their names immortal. The former founded the academy of Naples, had the works of Aristotle translated into Latin, assembled about his person all the learned men whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave many other undoubted proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences.^b The latter obtained an illustrious and permanent renown by several learned productions, but more especially by his famous

The progress
of learning in
the west.

☞ Abulpharagius, or Abul Farai, was a native of Malatia, a city in Armenia, near the source of the river Euphrates, and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his extensive erudition. He composed *An Abridgment of Universal History*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The 1st comprehends the history of the ancient patriarchs, from Adam to Moses. The 2d that of Joshua and the other judges of Israel. The 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, contain the history of the kings of Israel, of the Chaldean princes, of the Persian magi, and of the Grecian monarchs. The 7th relates to the Roman history; the 8th to that of the Greek emperors of Constantinople. In the 9th he treats concerning the Arabian commanders; and in the 10th concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. Edward Pocock translated this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1663; together with a supplement, which carries on the history of the oriental princes, where Abul Farai left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynasty under the following title; “*Specimen Historiæ Arabum; sive Georgii Abulpharagii Malatensis de origine et moribus Arabum succincta narratio.*”

^b Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 115. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 479. Add to these the observations of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

Astronomical Tables.^c In consequence then of the protection that was given to the sciences in this century, academies were erected almost in every city, peculiar privileges of various kinds were also granted to the youth that frequented them, and these learned societies acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is to say, they were invested with a certain jurisdiction, and were governed by their own laws and statutes.

III. In the public schools or academies that were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Thoulouse, The state of the European academies. Salamancha, Lions, and Cologn, the whole circle of the sciences was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their instructors, were limited to certain branches of learning, and thus the course of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of Paris, which surpassed all the rest both with respect to the number and abilities of its professors, and the multitude of students by whom it was frequented, was the first learned society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of a university, to denote its embracing the whole circle of science; and in process of time, other schools of learning were ambitious of forming themselves upon the same model, and of being honoured with the same title. In this famous university, the doctors were divided into four colleges or classes, according to the branches of learning they professed; and these classes were called, in after times, *faculties*. In each of these *faculties*, a doctor was chosen by the suffrages of his colleagues, to preside during a fixed period in the society; and the title of *dean* was given to those who successively filled that eminent office.^d The head of the *university*, whose inspection and jurisdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*, and that high and honourable place was filled by the bishop of Paris, to whom an assistant was afterward joined, who shared the administration with him, and

^c Nic. Antonii *Bibliotheca vetus Hispan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

^d This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 557, 564.

was clothed with an extensive authority.^e The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne, a particular friend and favourite of St. Lewis, whose name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society.^f

iv. Such as were desirous of being admitted professors in any of the *faculties*, or colleges of this famous university, were obliged to submit to a long and tedious *course* of probation, to suffer the strictest examinations, and to give, during several years, undoubted proofs of their learning and capacity, before they were received in the character of public teachers. This severe discipline was called the *academical course*; and it was wisely designed to prevent the number of professors from multiplying beyond measure, and also to hinder such as were destitute of erudition and abilities from assuming an office, which was justly looked upon as of high importance. They, who had satisfied all the demands of this academical law, and had gone through the formidable trial with applause, were solemnly invested with the dignity of *professors*, and were saluted *masters* with a certain round of ceremonies, that were used in the societies of illiterate tradesmen, when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar custom was introduced in the preceding century by the professors of law in the academy of Bologna, and in this century, it was transmitted to that of Paris, where it was first practised by the divinity colleges, and afterward by the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and installation of the professors of Paris, we may perceive the origin of what we now call *academical degrees*; which, like all other human institutions, have degenerated sadly from the wise ends for which they were at first appointed, and grow more insignificant from day to day.^g

^e See Herm. Conringii *Antiquitates Academicæ*, a work however, susceptible of considerable improvements. The important work mentioned in the preceding note, and which is divided into six volumes, deserves to be principally consulted in this point, as well as in all others that relate to the history and government of the university of Paris; add to this Claud. Hemeræi *Liber de Academia Parisiensi, qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis*, Lutet. 1637, in 4to.

^f See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223. Du Fresne's *Annotations upon the Life of St. Lewis*, written by Joinville, p. 36.

^g Beside the writers abovementioned, see Jo. Chr. Itterus, *De Gradibus Academicis*.

v. These public institutions, consecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable success; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived less advantage from them, than the other sciences. The state of literature or humanity. The industrious youth either applied themselves entirely to the study of the civil and canon laws, which was a sure path to preferment, or employed their labours in philosophical researches, in order to the attainment of a shining reputation, and of the applause that was lavished upon such as were endowed with a subtile and metaphysical genius. Hence the bitter complaints that were made by the pontiffs and other bishops of the neglect and decline of the liberal arts and sciences; and hence also the zealous, but unsuccessful efforts they used to turn the youth from jurisprudence and philosophy, to the study of humanity and philology.^b Notwithstanding all this, the thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very far from being contemptible, such as Guil. Brito,ⁱ Gualtherus Mapes,^k Matthew of Vendosme, Alain de l'Isle,^l Guntherus, Jacobus de Vitriaco, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians, the first place is due to Matthew Paris, a writer of the highest merit both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add Rodericus Ximenius, Rigordus,^m Vincent of Beauvais, Robert of St. Marino,ⁿ Martinus, a native of Poland, Gervais of Tilbury,^o Conrad of Lichtenau, Gulielmus Nangius, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the

Just. Henn. Bohmeri *Præf. ad jus Canonicum*, p. 14. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 24. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256, 682, 684, &c.

^b Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265, where there is an epistle of Innocent III. who seems to take this matter seriously to heart. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124. Imola in *Dantem in Muratori Antiquit. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

ⁱ See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 255.

^k Jo. Wolfii, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

^l Called in Latin, Alanus de Insulis.

^m See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 243, which also gives an ample account of William of Nangis, p. 292.

ⁿ See Le Boeuf, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490, where there is also a learned account of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

^o Gervais of Tilbury, was nephew to Henry II. king of England, and was in high credit with the emperor Otho IV. to whom he dedicated a Description of the World, and a Chronicle, both of which he had himself composed. He wrote also a History of England, and one of the Holy Land, with several treatises upon different subjects.

superstitions and miseries of the times, than the actions of these holy men. Among these biographers, James of Vitri, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a *History of the Lombards*, that is full of insipid and trifling stories.^p

vi. Roger Bacon,^q Johu Balbi, and Robert Capito, with some other learned men, whose number was but inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated; though it appears that Bacon and Capito, already mentioned, and Raymond Martin, author of an excellent treatise, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Christianæ*, or, *The Dagger of the Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that species of *erudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the dominican friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of Spain had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions.^r As to the Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to cast an eye upon the productions of Alexander de Villa Dei, who was looked upon as the most eminent of them all, and whose works were read in almost all the schools from this period until the sixteenth century. This pedantic franciscan composed, in the year 1240, what he called, a *Doctrinale*, in *Leonine* verse, full of the most wretched quibbles, and in which the rules of grammar and criticism are delivered with the greatest confusion and obscurity, or rather, are covered with impenetrable darkness.

The study of the Greek and oriental languages.

^p See Schelhornii *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. xi. p. 324.

^q This illustrious franciscan was, in point of genius and universal learning, one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chymistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the *admirable*, or *wonderful doctor*. Among other discoveries he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gunpowder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the Calendar, which was executed about three hundred years after by Gregory XIII. He composed a prodigious number of books, of which the list may be seen in the *General Dictionary*, at the article Bacon.

^r See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choïsies*, tom. iii. p. 112. Nic. Antonii *Bibliotheca vetus Hispanica*.

VII. The various systems of philosophy that were in vogue before this century, lost their credit by degrees, and submitted to the triumphant doctrine of Aristotle, which erected a new and despotic empire in the republic of letters, and reduced the whole ideal world under its lordly dominion. Several of the works of this philosopher, and more especially his metaphysical productions, had been so early as the beginning of this century translated into Latin at Paris, and were from that time explained to the youth in the public schools.^s But when it appeared, that Almeric^t had drawn from these books his erroneous sentiments concerning the divine nature, they were prohibited and condemned as pernicious and pestilential, by a public decree of the council of Sens, in the year 1209.^u The logic of Aristotle however recovered its credit some years after this, and was publicly taught in the university of Paris, in the year 1215; but the natural philosophy and metaphysic of that great man were still under the sentence of condemnation.^w It was reserved for the emperor Frederic II. to restore the Stag-irite to his former glory, which this prince effected by employing a number of learned men, whom he had chosen with the greatest attention and care,^x and who were pro-

^s Franc. Patricii, *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145. Jo. Launoïus *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisiensi*, cap. i. p. 127, ed. Elswich. It is commonly reported, that the books of Aristotle here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from Constantinople, and translated from Greek into Latin. See Rigordus, *De gestis Philippi regis Francorum ad A. 1209*, in Andr. Chesnii *Scriptor. Histor. Franc.* p. 119.

^t Almeric, or Amauri, does not seem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held that every christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and attached perhaps some extravagant and fanatical ideas to that opinion; but his followers fell into more pernicious notions, and adopted the most odious tenets, maintaining, that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Mosaic dispensation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghost commenced, when all sacraments and external worship were to be abolished, and the salvation of christians was to be accomplished merely by internal acts of illuminating grace. Their morals also were as infamous as their doctrine was absurd, and under the name of charity they comprehended and committed the most criminal acts of impurity and licentiousness.

^u Dr. Mosheim has fallen here into two light mistakes. It was at Paris, and not at Sens, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphysical books of Aristotle were condemned to the flames. The writers quoted here by our author are Launoïus, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iv. p. 195, and the same writer's *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. pars i. p. 8.

^w Nat. Alexander, *Select Histor. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. § 7, p. 76.

^x Petr. de Vineis, *Epistolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed *ad magistros et scholares Bononienses*, i. e. to the masters and scholars of the academy of Bologna; but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters, upon this occasion, to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of Aristotle, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year

foundly versed in the knowledge of the languages, to translate into Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books of Aristotle, and of other ancient sages. This translation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of Bologna, by the learned emperor, raised the credit of Aristotle to the greatest height, and gave him an irresistible and despotic authority in all the European schools. This authority was still farther augmented by the translations which were made of some of the books of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, such as Michael Scot, Philip of Tripoli, William Fleming, and others; though these men were quite unequal to the task they undertook, and had neither such knowledge of the languages, nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were necessary to the successful execution of such a difficult enterprise.⁷

VIII. The aristotelian philosophy received the very last addition that could be made to its authority and lustre, when the dominican and franciscan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, and illustrated it in their writings. These two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depositaries of all learning both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmost eagerness and assiduity, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished from the multitude by their superior knowledge. Alexander Hales, an English franciscan, who taught philosophy at Paris, and acquired, by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the title of the Irrefragable *Doctor*,⁸ and Albert the Great, a German of the dominican order, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of vast abilities and a universal dictator at this time,⁹ were the two first eminent writers who illustrated, in their learned productions, the aristotelian system. But it was

Thomas Aquinas and others adopt and maintain the aristotelian system.

1020; but this cannot be deduced from the letter abovementioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

⁷ See Wood's account of the interpreters of Aristotle, in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119, as also Jebb's *preface* to the *Opus Majus* of the famous Roger Bacon, published at London, in folio, in the year 1733. We shall give here the opinion which Bacon had of the translators of Aristotle, in the words of that great man, who expresses his contempt of these wretched interpreters in the following manner: "Si haberem," says he, "potestatem supra libros Aristotelis Latine conversos, ego facerem omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et causa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantie, ultra id quod valet explicari."

⁸ See Lucæ Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233. Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200, 673.

⁹ Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 113.

the disciple of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, the *angelic doctor*, and the great luminary of the scholastic world, that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite,^b by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inspection, a new translation of the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and elegance.^c By these means the philosophy of Aristotle, notwithstanding the opposition of several divines, and even of the Roman pontiffs themselves, who beheld its progress with an unfriendly eye, triumphed in all the Latin schools, and absorbed all the other systems that had flourished before this literary revolution.

ix. There were however at this time in Europe several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, notwithstanding their veneration for Aristotle, thought the method of treating philosophy, which his writings had introduced, dry, inelegant, and proper to confine and damp the efforts of the mind in the pursuit of truth, and who, consequently, were desirous of enlarging the sphere of science by new researches and new discoveries.^d At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place Roger Bacon, a franciscan friar, of the

The limits of science are extended by several eminent men.

^b The dominicans maintain, that this *angelic doctor* was the disciple of Albert the Great, and their opinions seem to be founded in truth. See Antoine Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The franciscans however maintain as obstinately, that Alexander Hales was the master of Thomas. See Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

^c It has been believed by many, that William de Moerbeka, a native of Flanders, of the dominican order, and archbishop of Corinth, was the author of the new Latin translation of the works of Aristotle, which was carried on and finished under the auspicious inspection of Thomas Aquinas. See J. Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 338. Casim. Oudin, *Comm. de Scriptor Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. Jo. Franc. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others however suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation was composed by Henry Kosbein, who was also a dominican. See Echard, *Script. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

^d Bacon's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be seen in the following passage quoted by Jebb, in his *preface* to the *Opus Majus* of that great man; "Nunquam," says he, "fuit tanta apparentia sapientiarum, nec tantum exercitium studii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, sicut jam a quadraginta annis; ubique enim doctores sunt dispersi . . . in omni civitate, et in omni castro, et in omni burgo, precipue per duos ordines studentes," he means the franciscans and dominicans, who were almost the only religious orders that distinguished themselves by an application to study, "quod non accidit, nisi a quadraginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit tanta ignorantia, tantus error . . . Vulgus studentium languet et asinatur circa male translata," by these wretched versions he understands the works of Aristotle, which were most miserably translated by ignorant bunglers, "et tempus et studium amittit in omnibus et expensas. Apparentia quidem sola tenet eos, et non curant quid sciant, sed quid videantur scire coram multitudine insensata." Thus, according to Bacon, in the midst of the most specious appearance of science, the greatest ignorance and the grossest errors reigned almost universally.

English nation, known by the appellation of the *admirable doctor*, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy, mathematics, chymistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times.^e With him we may associate Arnold of Villa Nova, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in France, by others in Spain, and who acquired a shining reputation by his knowledge in chymistry, poetry, philosophy, languages, and physic;^f as also Petrus de Abano, a physician of Padua, who was surnamed the *Reconciler*, from a book he wrote with a design to terminate the dissensions and contests that reigned among the philosophers and physicians,^g and who was profoundly versed in the sciences of philosophy, astronomy, physic, and mathematics.^h It must however be observed, to the eternal dishonour of the age, that the only fruits which these great men enjoyed of their learned labours, and their noble, as well as successful efforts for the advancement of the arts and sciences, were the furious clamours of an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. Bacon was confined many years to a loathsome prison; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.

^e That Bacon deserves this high rank in the learned world, appears evidently from his book entitled, *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. and which Doctor Jebb published at London in 1733, from a manuscript which still exists in the university of Dublin, enriching it with a learned preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of Bacon which are very numerous, lie as yet for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264 tom. v. p. 51 Thom Gale *ad Jamblichum de Mysteriis Egyptior.* p. 255. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article Bacon.

^f See Nic. Antonii *Biblioth. vetus Hispan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74. Pierre Joseph Fie d'Arnaud de Ville neuve, Aix 1719. Nicéron, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82. Nicol Eymerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 232, where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

^g This book was entitled, *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum.*

^h There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by Joh. Maria Mazzuchelli *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano.* in Angeli Calogerae *Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xiii. p. 1—54.

- x. The state of theology, and the method of teaching and representing the doctrines of Christianity that now prevailed, shall be mentioned in their place.

The study of
law and phys-
ic.

The civil and canon laws held the first rank in the circle of the sciences, and were studied with a peculiar zeal and application by almost all who were ambitious of literary glory. These sciences however, notwithstanding the assiduity with which they were cultivated, were far from being, as yet, brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. They were disfigured by the jargon that reigned in the schools, and they were corrupted and rendered intricate by a multitude of trivial commentaries that were designed to illustrate and explain them. Some employed their labours in collecting the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which are commonly known under the title of *Decretals*,ⁱ and which were looked upon as a very important branch of ecclesiastical law. Raimond of Pennafort, a native of Barcelona, was the most famous of all these compilers, and acquired a considerable reputation by his collection of the *Decretals* in five books, which he undertook at the desire of Gregory IX. and which has been since honoured with the name of that pontiff, who ordered it to be added to the *Decretals* of Gratian, and to be read in all the European colleges.^k Toward the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. had a new collection made, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of Decretals*, because it was added to the five already mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT DURING THIS CENTURY.

- I. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and

The corrup-
tion of the
clergy.

ⁱ See Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98.

^k Gerh. a Mastricht, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353, p. 384. Jo. Chifflet, *De juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60. Echard et Quetif, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 106. *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d. vii.* p. 404.

reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age.¹ Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprise. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they sat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting a reformation in the church.

11. The history of the popes presents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the ministers of the church, who were peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models of piety and virtue. Such of the sacerdotal order as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and showed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute and unlimited dominion. The popes, more especially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, "That the bishop of Rome is the supreme lord of the universe, and that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in church or state but what they derive from him." This extravagant maxim, which was considered as the sum and substance of papal jurisprudence, the Roman pontiffs maintained obstinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of a universal law. It was in consequence of this arrogant pretension, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true, this maxim was far from being universally adopted; many

And of the Roman pontiffs.

¹ See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. to the archbishop of Bourges, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by Dion. Sammarthaus, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21. See also Du Fresnoy, *Annotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99

placed the authority of councils above that of the pontiffs, and such of the European kings and princes as were not ingloriously blinded and enslaved by the superstition of the times, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, nay, even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the churches that were established in their dominions.^m In opposing thus the haughty pretensions of the lordly pontiffs, it was indeed necessary to proceed with mildness, caution, and prudence, on account of the influence which these spiritual tyrants had usurped over the minds of the people, and the power they had of alarming princes, by exciting their subjects to rebellion.

III. In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating *bishops*, *abbots*, and *canons*, according to their fancy. Thus we see the ghostly heads of the church, who formerly disputed with such ardour against the emperors in favour of the free election of bishops and abbots, overturning now all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often deposing bishops that had been duly and lawfully elected, and substituting, with a high hand, others in their room.ⁿ The hypocritical pretexts for all these arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal for the welfare of the church, and an anxious concern, lest devouring *heretics* should get a footing among the flock of Christ.^o The first of the pontiffs, who usurped such an extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed

The power of creating bishops, abbots, &c. claimed by the pontiffs.

^m As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III. and the emperor Otho IV. which have been collected by the learned George Christ. Gebaur, in his *History of the Emperor Richard*, written in German, p. 611—614. Other princes, and more especially the kings of England and France, displayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the same zeal that animated Otho.

ⁿ Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443, 466, 470, 488, 491, 493. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69, *Append.* Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor. in Diplom.* Wood, *Antiquit.* Oxon. tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202.

^o See the *Epistle of Innocent IV.* in Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 468.

by Honorius III. Gregory IX. and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and still more effectually by the kings of England and France, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence.^p Lewis IX. king of France, and now the tutelar saint of that nation, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the holy land, he secured the rights of the Gallican church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict, known in France, by the name of the *pragmatic sanction*.^q This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. For Boniface VIII. maintained, in the most express and impudent terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the pontiffs, and that princes and lay patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from Christ's vicar upon earth.

iv. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or such like considerations; extorted money from the people by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were themselves the ringleaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffic of *relics* and *indulgences*, and distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the flagitious con-

The authority
of the pope's
legates.

^p Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659, and principally tom. iv. p. 211.

^q *Idem*, *ib.* p. 389.

^r See Baluzii *Miscellanea.* tom. vii. p. 437, 475, 480. &c.

duct and the enormous crimes of the pope's legates.^s Nay, we see the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers,^t which however they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of Rome.

v. From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under Innocent III. and Nicholas IV. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the præfect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, and several cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otto IV. loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother,^w but also permitted Richard, count of Fundi, to leave by will all his possessions to the Roman see,^x and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn traité, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, i

^s See that judicious and excellent writer Matth. Paris, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313, 316, 549, and particularly p. 637, where we find the following remarkable words: "Semper solent legati quales, et omnes nuntii papales regna quæ ingreditur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare." See also Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659.

^t This edict is published by Lami, in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

^u See Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161. Muratori's *Antiq. Italica*, tom. i. p. 328.

^w This brother of the pontiff was called Richard. See for an account of this transaction, Muratori's *Antiquitat. Italica*, tom. v. p. 652.

^x Odor. Raynaldus, *Continual. Annal. Baronii.* ad 7. 1212. § 2.

some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or at least extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were subject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was therefore, under these two pontiffs, that the see of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times.⁷

VI. Innocent III. who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance,² clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians; in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Premislaus, duke of Bohemia.³ The same year he sent to Johanicus, duke of Bulgaria and Walachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of loyalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at Rome with the title of king.⁴ We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the letters of this arrogant pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which Europe beheld with astonishment, but also,

The tyrannical pontificate of Innocent III. proved by several examples.

⁷ See Raynaldus, *loc. cit. ad A.* 1278, § 47.

² See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 206, 230.

³ a Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor Philip, that conferred the royal dignity upon Premislaus, in order to strengthen his party against Otho.

⁴ Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116. Jo. de Ferrera, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.

to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves. When the empire of Germany was disputed, toward the commencement of this century, between Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho IV. third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and Innocent, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place Frederic II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and king of the two Sicilies, to the imperial throne in the year 1212.* The same pontiff excommunicated Philip Augustus, king of France, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingerburg, a princess of Denmark, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity.^d

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff as John, surnamed *Sans terre*, king of England. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Grey to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority.^e The pope, after having consecrated

* All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

^d Boulay, *Histor Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 8. Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475. Gerhard. du Bois, *Histor Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 204—257.

^e Dr. Mosheim passes lightly over this rupture between king John and Innocent III. mentioning in a few lines the interdict under which England was laid by that pontiff, the excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act

Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that in the year 1200, he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case the monarch refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments were suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this interdict, the cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among which were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a

by which he absolved the English from their allegiance. The translator however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with such brevity, and has therefore taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which contains but eleven lines in the original.

bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence, both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory.* In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed,

* For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189, 192, 195. As also Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

performed by the advice, and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission now stipulated to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British crown.⁶ "This shameful ceremony was performed," says a modern historian,⁷ "on Ascension day, in the house of the Templars at Dover, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. John, in doing homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the archbishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and sceptre five whole days, and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman see. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne; while he himself seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace."

ix. Innocent III. was succeeded in the pontificate by Concio Savelli, who assumed the title of Honorius III. ruled the church above ten years, and ^{Honorius III.} whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism, of the Roman see. It was in consequence of this zeal, that the new pontiff opposed the measures, and drew upon him the indignation of Frederic II. that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This spirited prince, following the steps of his illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution of confirming the authority, and extending the jurisdiction of the emperors in Italy, of depressing the

⁶ *g Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of Matthew Paris.

⁷ See the *Complete History of England*, by Dr. Smollet, vol. i. p. 437.

small states of Lombardy, and reducing to narrower limits the immense credit and opulence of the pontiffs and bishops; and it was with a view to the execution of these grand projects, that he deferred the fulfilling of the solemn vow, by which he had engaged himself to march a formidable army against the infidels in Palestine. The pontiff, on the other hand, urged with importunity, the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by secret succours, the Italian states that opposed his pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests however had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

x. In the year 1227, Hugolinus, bishop of Ostia, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for Palestine. In the year 1228, Frederic at last set out and arrived in the holy land; but instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have had already occasion to observe, he entered into a truce with Saladin, and contented himself with the recovery of Jerusalem. The pretended vicar of Christ, forgetting, or rather unwilling to persuade himself, that his master's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the emperor in Apuglia during his absence,ⁱ and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederic, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and in Italy, and the year following made his peace

[¶] The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

ⁱ Under the feeble reign of Henry III. the pope drew immense sums out of England for the support of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

with the pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace however was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy that were in alliance with the see of Rome, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head, in the year 1239. Frederic was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of Europe. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event.^k

^k Beside the original and authentic authors collected by Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely void of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between the empire and the papacy, see Petrus de Viniis, *Epistol.* lib. i. and Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*. Add to these Raynaldi *Annal.* Muratori *Annal. Italiae.* tom. vii. and *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325, 517. It must however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in need of farther illustrations.

XI Geoffry, bishop of Milan, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before Innocent IV. his consecration, and after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic stool was filled by Sinibald, one of the counts of Fiesque, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury.¹ His elevation however offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened. and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor.^m Hence it was, that Innocent, not thinking himself safe in any part of Italy, set out from Genoa, the place of his birth, for Lyons in the year 1244, and assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the emperor Frederic, and declared the imperial throne vacant.ⁿ This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and after his death, William, count of Holland, to the head of the empire. Frederic, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in Italy, until a violent dysentery ended his days in Apulia, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into Italy,^o hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *guelphs* and *guibelines*, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the

¹ See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, ad A. 1254, p. 771.

^m These preliminary conditions were; 1st, That the emperor should give up entirely to the church the inheritance which was left to it by Mathilda; and 2dly, that he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think fit to propose, as conditions of peace.

ⁿ This assembly is placed in the list of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the Gallican church.

^o Beside the writers already mentioned, see Nicol. de Currio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

Italian states in the most fatal dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century.^p

xii. Raynald, count of Segni, and bishop of Ostia, was raised to the pontificate after the death of Innocent, in the year 1254, and is distinguished in the list of the popes by the name of Alexander IV. During the six years and six months that he governed the see of Rome, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church, if we except the measures he took for the destruction of Conradin, grandson of Frederic II. and for composing the tumults that had so long reigned without interruption in Italy. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among them the dominicans and franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

He was succeeded in the Roman see, A. D. 1261, by Urban IV. a native of Troyes, of obscure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of Jerusalem, and after that period, was more distinguished by his instituting the *Festival of the body of Christ*, than by any other circumstance in the course of his reign. He had indeed formed several important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years. His successor Gui Fulcodi, or Clemens IV. a native of France, and bishop of Sabino, who was raised to the see of Rome in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name however makes a greater figure in history, and was rendered famous in many respects, and more especially by his conferring the kingdom of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother to Lewis IX. king of France. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of Conradin, the last descendant of Frederic II. who, after an unfortunate battle fought against Charles, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent of the Roman pontiff, are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

^p See Muratorii *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibelinis*, in his *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

XIII. Upon the death of Clemens IV.^a there arose warm and vehement contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during the space of three years, were at length terminated in favour of Theald, or Thibald, a native of Placentia, and archbishop of Liege, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of Gregory X.^r This devout ecclesiastic was in the holy land when he received the news of his election; and as he had been an eye witness of the miserable condition of the christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at Lyons, in the year 1274, in which the relief and maintenance of the christians in Palestine, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of Gregory VII. that declared the bishop of Rome the lord of the world, and in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of Alphonsus, king of Castile,^s he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay,

^a Which happened in the year 1268.

^r The records of this election are published by Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

^s Alphonsus, king of Castile, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of Triers, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia, in opposition to Richard, duke of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. king of England, who was at the same time raised to the same dignity by the archbishops of Mentz and Bologn, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Bavaria.

assuring them, that if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the designed effect; an electoral diet was assembled at Francfort, and Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, was raised to the imperial throne.

xiv. Gregory X. was succeeded in the year 1276, by Peter of Tarantaise, of the dominican order, and bishop of Ostia, who assumed the name of Innocent V. and died about five months after his election. Innocent V.
Adrian V. John
XXI. Nicolas
III. Ottoboni, a native of Genoa, and cardinal of St. Adrian, was chosen in his place, took the title of Adrian V.¹ and after having ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded by Peter Julian, bishop of Tusculum, who enjoyed that high dignity about eight months, and is distinguished in the papal list by the name of John XXI.² The see of Rome continued vacant for above six months after the death of the last mentioned pontiff, but was at length filled, in the month of November, 1277, by John Cajetan, of the family of Ursins, cardinal of St. Nicolas, whose name he adopted for his papal title. This famous pontiff, as has been already observed, augmented greatly both the opulence and authority of the bishops of Rome, and had formed vast projects, which his undaunted courage and his remarkable activity would have enabled him, without doubt, to execute with success, had not death blasted his hopes, and disconcerted his ambitious schemes.

xv. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months after his departure from this life, by Simon de Brie, who adopted the name of Martin IV. Martin IV.
Nicolas IV. and was not inferior to Nicolas III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. Michael Palæologus, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes who was solemnly excommunicated by this audacious priest, and that under the pretext of his having broken the peace that had been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of Lyons.³ The same insult was committed against

¹ We read in the Latin, Adrian VI. which is more probably an error of the press, than a fault of the author.

² In the original Dr. Mosheim observes, that these three successors of Gregory were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276, but here he has fallen into a slight mistake; for John XXI. died the 16th of May, 1277.

³ This council had been held under the pontificate of Gregory X.

Peter, king of Arragon, whom Martin not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon Sicily, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and possessions to Charles, son of Philip the Bold,^x king of France. It was during the execution of such daring enterprises as these, and while he was meditating still greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, that a sudden death in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were however prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, James Savelli, who chose the denomination of Honorius IV. but was also stopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. Jerome d'Ascoli, bishop of Palæstrina, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of Nicolas IV. distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decisions; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again, we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontiff, was the desperate state of the christians in Palestine, who were now reduced to the greatest extremities of misery and weakness. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the restoration of their former grandeur; they were however employed in vain, and his death, which happened in the year 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed for that purpose.

xvi. The death of this pontiff was followed by a vacancy of three years in the see of Rome, which was
 Celestine V. owing to the disputes that arose among the cardinals about the election of a new pope. These disputes were at length terminated, and the contending parties united their suffrages in favour of Peter, surnamed Di Murrone, from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the

^x Philippe le Hardi, as he is called by the French.

deepest solitude and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of Celestine V. But the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration, which showed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority, that he was almost universally considered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardinals, and particularly Benedict Cajetan, advised him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with such reluctance, and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the solicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a saint by Clement V. It was from him that the branch of the benedictine order called *celestines*, and which yet subsists in France and Italy, derived its origin.⁷

xvii. Benedict Cajetan, who had persuaded the good pontiff now mentioned to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name Boniface VIII of Boniface VIII. We may say with truth of this unworthy prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to phrensy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and

temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war against the illustrious family of Colonna, who disputed his title to the pontificate;² in a word, exhibited to the church and to Europe, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII. whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance.³ It was this pontiff that, in the year 1300, instituted the famous jubilee, which since that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman church, at certain fixed periods. But the consideration of this institution, which was so favourable to the progress of licentiousness and corruption, as also the other exploits of Boniface, and his deplorable end, belong to the history of the following century.^b

xviii. In the council of Lateran that was held in the year 1215, a decree had been passed, by the advice of New monastic orders. Innocent III. to prevent the introduction of *new religions*, by which was meant, new monastic institutions. This decree however seemed to be very little respected, either by that pontiff or his successors, since several religious orders, hitherto unknown in the christian world were not only tolerated, but were moreover distinguished by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and enriched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor will this tacit abrogation of the decree of Innocent appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of the church in this century. For, not to mention many enormities that contributed to the suspension of this decree, we shall only observe, that the enemies of Christianity, and the *heretical* sects, increased daily every where; and on the other hand, the *secular* clergy were more attentive to their worldly advantages than to the interests of the church, and spent in mirth and jollity the opulence with which the piety of their

² The reasons they alleged for disputing the title of Boniface to the pontificate, were, that the resignation of Celestine was not *canonical*, and moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

^a There is a history of this pontiff written by Jo. Rubeus, a benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled *Bonifacius VIII e familia Cajetanorum principium Romanus pontifex*, was published at Rome in the year 1651, in 4to.

^b In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed Daniel Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales Italice*, consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last mentioned author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

ancestors had enriched that sacred body. The monastic orders also had almost all degenerated from their primitive sanctity, and exhibiting the most offensive and shocking examples of licentiousness and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cause of heresy triumphant, instead of retarding its progress. All these things being considered, it was thought necessary to encourage the establishment of new monastic societies, who by the sanctity of their manners, might attract the esteem and veneration of the people, and diminish the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontiffs had so universally excited; and who, by their diligence and address, their discourses and their arguments, their power and arms, when these violent means were required, might discover, persecute, convert, and vanquish the growing tribe of heretics.

xix. Of the religious societies that arose in this century some are now entirely suppressed, while others continue to flourish, and are in high repute at this present time. Among the former we may reckon the *humiliati*, a title expressive of great humility and self abasement, whose origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the present century, though their order was confirmed and new modelled by Innocent III. who subjected it to the rule of St. Benedict. These humble monks became so shockingly licentious in process of time, that in the year 1571, pope Pius V. was obliged to dissolve their society.^c We may also place in the list of suppressed monasteries the *jacobins*, who were erected into a religious order by Innocent III.^d and who, in this very century, not long after the council of Lyons, were deprived of their charter; the *vallischoles*, or *scholars of the valley*, so called from their being instituted by the *scholares*, i. e. the four professors of divinity in the university of Paris, and from a deep vale in the province of Champagne, in which they assembled and fixed their residence in the year 1234.^e This society, whose foundation was laid about the commencement of this century, was formerly governed by the rule of St. Augustin, but is now incor-

Several of the monastic institutions suppressed.

^c Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

^d Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

^e Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 15. *Acta Sanct. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 462.

porated into the order of the *regular canons of St. Genievieve*. To the same class belong the *order of the blessed Virgin Mary the mother of Christ*, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274;^f the *knights of faith and charity*, who undertook to disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public roads in France, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of Gregory IX.^g the *hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine*;^h not to mention the *brethren of the sack*, the *bethlehemites*, and other orders of inferior note, that started up in this century, which, of all others, was the most remarkable for the number and variety of monastic establishments, that date their origin from it.ⁱ

xx. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and still subsist, the principal place is due to that of the *servites*, i. e. *the servants of the blessed Virgin*, whose order was first instituted, A. D. 1223, in Tuscany, by seven Florentine merchants, and afterward made a great progress under the government of Philip Benizi its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. Augustin, was nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit,^k and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious number of christians that were made prisoners by the mahometans in Palestine, gave rise, toward the conclusion of the twelfth century, to the institution of the order, entitled, *the fraternity of the Trinity*: which, in the following age, received a still greater degree of stability, under the pontificate of Honorius III. and also of his successor Clement IV. The first founders of this institution were John de Matha and Felix de Valois, two pious men, who led an austere and solitary life at Cerfroy, in the diocese of Meaux, which is still the seat

^f Dion. Sammarthani *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

^g *Gallia Christ.* tom. i. *Append.* p. 165. Martene, *Voyage Liler. de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 23.

^h Jo. Bollandi *De ordine Eremitar. S. Gulielmi Comm. in actis SS. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

ⁱ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 815, edit. Watts. Where, speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in England during this century, he expresseth himself thus; "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata."

^k Beside the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see Pauli Florentini *Dialog de origine Ordinis Servorum*, in Lamii *Deliciis Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—49

of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the *brethren of the Holy Trinity*, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled *mathurins*, from their having a monastery at Paris erected in a place where there is a chapel consecrated to St. Mathurin, and *brethren of the redemption of captives*,¹ because the grand design of their institution was to find out means for restoring liberty to the christian captives in the holy land, in which charitable work they are obliged to employ the third part of their revenue. Their manner of life was at first extremely abstemious and austere; but its austerity has been from time to time considerably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontiffs.^m

xxi. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in the purity of its manners, the extent of its fame, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the *mendicant*, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The present state and circumstances of the church rendered the establishment of such an order absolutely necessary. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all their religious obligations, trampled upon the authority of their superiors, suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained, and the sectaries to form assemblies in several places; in short, they were incapable of contribut-

The mendicant order.

¹ Broughton and some other writers make a distinction between the *order of the redemption of captives*, and the *fraternity*, or *brethren of the Holy Trinity*. They allege, that the latter order was instituted at Rome by St. Philip Neri, in the year 1548, about three hundred and fifty years after the first establishment of the former; and that the monks who composed it, were obliged by their vow, to take care of the pilgrims who resorted from all parts of the world to Rome to visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul.

^m Beside Helyot and the other writers of the *Monastic History*, see Toussaint de Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172, and 566. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 523. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *order of asses*, on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their rule, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See Car. du Fresne's *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81. But at present, through the indulgence of the Roman pontiffs, they are permitted to make use of horses when they find them necessary. An order of the same kind was instituted in Spain, in the year 1228, by Paul Nolasco, under the title of the *order of St. Mary for the redemption of captives*. See the *Acta Sanctorum Januar.* tom. ii. p. 280.

ing in any respect to promote the true interests of the church, and abandoned themselves, without either shame or remorse, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, the various sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained, that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of Christ, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendant over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from preserving in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. Innocent III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a profession of poverty, the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour. They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European provinces, that they became a burden, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

XXII. The great inconveniency that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by Gregory X. in a general council ^{Its history.} which he assembled at Lyons, in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders that had sprung up after the council held at Rome, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III. were suppressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as Gregory called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz. the *dominicans*, the *franciscans*, the *carmelites* and the *hermits of St. Augustin*.ⁿ The *carmelite* order, which had been instituted in Palestine during the preceding century, was in this, transplanted into Europe, and in the year 1226, was favoured by pope Honorius III. with a place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed the protection and approbation of the church. The *hermits of St. Augustin* had for their founder Alexander IV.^o who, observing that the *hermits* were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous William, others the rule of St. Augustin, while others again were distinguished by different denominations, formed the wise project of uniting them all into one religious order, and subjecting them to the same rule of discipline, even that which bears the name of St. Augustin. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

XXIII. As the pontiffs allowed these four mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude ^{Attracts the veneration and esteem of the public.} wherever they went; and as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness, than were observable in the other monastic societies, they arose all at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe. The enthusiastic attachment of these sancti-

ⁿ *Concil. Lugd. II. A 1274.* Can. xxiii. in Jo. Harduini *Conciliis*. tom. vii. p. 715. "Importuna potentium inhiatio Religionum," so were the religious orders entitled, "multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium . . . elfratratam multitudinem adinvenit . . . Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium," i. e. the council of Lateran held in 1215, "adinventos . . . perpetuæ prohibitioni subjecimus."

^o This edict of pope Alexander IV. is to be found in the new edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110. See also *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

monious beggars went so far, that, as we learn from the most authentic records, several cities were divided or cantoned out into four parts, with a view to these four orders; the first part was assigned to the dominicans; the second to the franciscans; the third to the carmelites; and the fourth to the augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the mendicants end here; for we find, in the history of this and of the succeeding ages, that they were employed not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with the monastic character and profession.

xxiv. We must not however imagine, that all the mendicant friars attained to the same degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the dominicans and franciscans surpassed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them singularly conspicuous in the eyes of the world. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost universal and absolute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardour and equal success. The dominicans and franciscans were, before the reformation, what the jesuits have been since that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of all the motions of the one and the other, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious

The dominicans.

and political world. Dominic, a Spaniard by birth, a native of the village of Calaroga, descendant of the illustrious house of Guzman, and regular canon of Osma, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exasperated by the commotions and contests which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, set out for France with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries, that were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprise he executed with the greatest vigour, and we may add, fury, attacking the albigenses and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, and subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the *inquisition*, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into Italy, he was honoured by the Roman pontiffs, Innocent III. and Honorius III. with the most distinguished marks of their protection and favour; and after many labours in the cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the extirpation of error, and the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted for the new society was that of the *canons of St. Augustin*, to which he added several austere precepts and observances. But he afterward changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and holding a chapter of the order at Bologna in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at Bologna.^a His monks were at first distinguished by the denomination of *preaching friars*, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterward called dominicans after their founder.^r [P Just

^a See Jac. Echard. and Quetif in *Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84. *Acta Sanctor.* April. tom. iii. p. 872. Nicol. Jansenii *Vita S. Dominici*, Antwerp. 1622, in 8vo. Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. med. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137, and also Antonii Bremondii *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, published some years ago at Rome.

^r The dominicans are called *fratres majores* in several of the ancient records; see Ant. Matthæi *Analecta vel ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. This appellation however by which the dominicans were set in opposition to the franciscans, who call themselves *fratres minores*, is rather a term of derision than a real name. In France the dominicans are called *jacobins*, from the street where their first convent was erected at Paris, in the year 1218, which street was dedicated to St. James, and is still known by the name of *Rue de St. Jacques*.

before his death Dominic sent Gilbert de Fresney with twelve of the brethren into England, where they founded their first monastery at Oxford in the year 1221, and soon after, another at London. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, gave them two whole streets, by the river Thames. where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place is still called Black Friars, for so the dominicans were called in England.]

xxv. Francis, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of Assisi, in the province of Umbria, and a young man who led, for some time, a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this, he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which Christ addresses his apostles in the following manner; *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat.*^s This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel, and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous franciscan order, whose founder and chief was undoubtedly a pious and well meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to Innocent III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by Honorius III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. Francis, through an excessive humility, would not

The franciscans.

^s In the year 1208.

^c Matthew x. 9, 10.

suffer the monks of his order to be called *fratres*, i. e. *brethren* or *friars*, but *fratricula*, i. e. *little brethren* or *friars minors*,^u by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished.^w The franciscans came into England in the reign of Henry III. and their first establishment was at Canterbury.

XXVI. These two celebrated orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languishing for many years, by the zeal and activity with which they set themselves to discover and extirpate heretics, to undertake various negotiations and embassies for the interests of the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in their implicit obedience to the Roman pontiffs. These ghostly rulers, on the other hand, sensible of their obligations to the new monks, which no doubt were very great, not only employed them in every affair they looked upon as of high importance, and raised them to the most eminent stations in the church, but also accumulated upon them employments and privileges, which, if they enriched them on the one hand, could not fail to render them odious on the other,^x and to excite the envy and complaints of other ecclesiastics. Such, among many other extraordinary prerogatives, was the permission they received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing *confession*,

The eminent services rendered to the Roman pontiffs by the dominicans and franciscans.

^u They were called *fratricelli* by the Italians, *freres mineurs* by the French, and *fratres minores* by the Latin writers.

^w Bonaventure wrote a life of St. Francis, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by Luke Wadding, in the first volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at Rome in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by Joseph Maria Fouseca ab Ebor. It is to the same Wadding that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was published, in 4to. at Antwerp, in the year 1623, and the latter at Rome, in 4to. likewise, in 1630. The other writers, who have given accounts of the franciscan order, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

^x The popes were so infatuated with the franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major*, of Matthew Paris; "*Fratres minores et prædicatores*," says he, "*invitos, ut eredimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum læsione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos*," p. 634. "*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum*," p. 639. Cons. p. 602, 664. "*Erant minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliatores et nuntii, etiam domini papæ secretarii; nimis in hoc Prædicatores et Minores regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam molli-bus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestiebantur, in domibus, cameris et palatiis essent principum*," *ad An.* 1239, p. 465.

and pronouncing *absolution*, without any license from the bishops, and even without consulting them; to which we may add the treasure of ample and extensive *indulgences*, whose distribution was committed by the popes to the franciscans, as a mean of subsistence, and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty.^y These acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the dominican and franciscan *friars* with such an ill judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced the most unhappy and bitter dissensions between the mendicant orders and the bishops. And these dissensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of Rome,^z under the very eye of the pontiffs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages.^a

xxvii. Among all the controversies which were maintained by the mendicants, whether against the bishops, abbots, schools, or other religious orders, none was so famous, as that which arose, in the year 1228, between the dominicans and the university of Paris, and was prolonged, with various success, until the year 1259. The dominicans claimed, as their unquestionable right, two theological classes in that celebrated university, one of which had been taken from them, and an academical law passed, that no religious order should have what the dominicans demanded. These lat-

The dispute between the dominicans and the university of Paris.

^y See Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 490, tom. vii. p. 392. It is well known that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample *indulgences* as the franciscans. Nor could these good friars live and multiply as they did, without some source of profit, since, by their institution, they were to be destitute of revenues and possessions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that such fat *indulgences* were put into their hands.

^z Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 441.

^a See Jo. Launoii *Explicata Ecclesie Traditio circa Canonem; Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. pars i. opp. p. 247. Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 326. Leufant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 310, tom. ii. p. 8. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404. The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers both of this and the following centuries.

ter however persisted obstinately in reclaiming the professorship they had lost; while the doctors of the university, perceiving the restless and contentious spirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their society, and formed themselves into a separate body. This measure was considered as a declaration of war; and accordingly the most vehement commotions arose between the contending parties. The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff in the year 1255; and the decision, as might well have been expected, was in favour of the monks. Alexander IV. ordered the university of Paris not only to restore the dominicans to their former place in that learned society, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many classes or professorships as they should think proper to demand. This unjust and despotic sentence was opposed by the university with the utmost vigour, and thus the contest was renewed with double fury. But the magistrates of Paris were at length so terrified and overwhelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exasperated pontiff, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to superior force, and satisfied the demands not only of the dominican, but also of the franciscan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands.^b Hence arose that secret enmity, that silent ill will, which prevailed so long between the university of Paris and the mendicant orders, especially the dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguished.

xxviii. In this famous debate, none pleaded the cause of the university with greater spirit, and asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than Guillaume de St. Amour, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked the whole mendicant tribe in various treatises with the greatest vehemence, and more especially in a book *concerning the perils of the latter times*. He maintained publicly, that their discipline

The dominicans meet with a formidable adversary.

^b See Cæs. Egass. du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 138, 240, 244, 248, 266, &c. Jo. Cordesii, or, to mention him by the name he assumes, Jo. Alitophili *Præf. Histor. et Apologetica ad Opera Gulielmi de S. Amore*. Antoine Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134. Wadding's *Annal. Minor*. tom. iii. p. 247, 366, tom. iv. p. 14, 52, 106, 263. Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, ad An. 1228, and Nangis *Chronicon*. apud Dacherium; *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 38.

was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the *church was become chargeable with error.*^c What gave occasion to the remarkable title of this famous book, was the author's being entirely persuaded that the prophecy of St. Paul, relating to the *perilous times that were to come in the last days,*^d was fulfilled in the establishment of the mendicant friars. This notion St. Amour maintained in the warmest manner, and proved it principally from the book called the *Everlasting Gospel*, which was explained publicly by the dominicans and franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the mendicants were therefore kindled, in a peculiar manner, against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, Alexander VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and banished its author out of France. lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these ghostly beggars. St. Amour submitted to the papal edict, and retired into the *Franche Comte*, which was the place of his birth; but under the pontificate of Clement IV. he returned to Paris, where he illustrated the tenets of his famous book in a more extensive work, and died universally esteemed and regretted by all ranks and orders of men, except the mendicants.^d

xxix. While the pontiff's accumulated upon the mendicants the most honourable distinctions, and the most valuable privileges which they had to bestow, they exposed them still more and more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was considerably increased by the audacious arro-

The pride and
arrogance of
the mendicants.

^c 2 Timothy, iii. 1.

^d 2 Timothy, iii. 1.

^d The doctors of the university of Paris profess still a high respect for the memory of St. Amour, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of *heretics*. The dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to. in the year 1632, at Paris, though the title bears *Constantiæ* by Cordesius, who has prefixed to them a long and learned preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. Amour in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the resentment and fury of the mendicants, concealed his real name, and assumed that of Jo. Alitophilus. This did not however save his book from the vengeance of these friars, who obtained from Lewis XIII in the year 1633, an edict for its suppression, which Tournon, a dominican friar, has published in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164. For a further account of the life of this famous doctor. see Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366. Boulay, *Hist Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266. Nat. Alex. *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xiii. cap. iii. art. vii. p. 95. Rich. Simon. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 345.

gance that discovered itself every where in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*, and vaunted beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin Mary, and the saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not intrust any others but the mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns.^e We may give, as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to Simon Stockius, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us that the Virgin Mary appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the carmelite cloak or *scapulary* upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal damnation.^f And here let it be observed to the astonishment of all, in whom the power of superstition has not extinguished the plainest dictates of common sense, that this fiction, ridiculous and impious as it was, found patrons and defenders even among the pontiffs.^g

xxx. It is however certain, that the mendicant orders, though they were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal supports of the papal authority, involved the pontiffs, after the death of Dominic and Francis, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no sooner dispelled than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a state of imminent danger. These tu-

Contests between the dominicans and franciscans.

^e See M. Paris, *ad A.* 1246, *Hist. Major*, p. 607, 630, &c.

^f See Jo. Lannoii *Lib. de Viso Stockii Oper.* tom. ii. pars ii. p. 379. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Mensis Maii ad diem xvi.* Theoph. Rainaudi *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

^g The late pope Benedict XIV. notwithstanding his pretended freedom from superstition and priestly fraud, has deigned to appear among the supporters of this gross fiction, though he defends it with his usual air of prudence and timidity, in his book *De Festis B. Mariæ Virg.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472, tom. x. opp. edit Rom

mults and perplexities began with the contests between the dominicans and franciscans about pre-eminence, in which these *humble* monks loaded each other with the bitterest invectives and the severest accusations both in their writings and their discourse, and opposed each other's interests with all the fury of disappointed ambition. Many schemes were formed, and various measures were employed, for terminating these scandalous dissensions; but the root of the evil still remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguished.^h Beside this, the franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions, which gathered strength and consistence from day to day, and not only disturbed the tranquillity of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs. And whoever considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of Rome, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after times, such substantial and such glorious effects.

xxxI. The occasion of these intestine divisions among the franciscans, was a dispute about the precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and chief had made absolute poverty one of their indispensable obligations. The religious orders before his time were so constituted, that, though no single monk had any personal property, yet the whole community, considered as one collective body, had possessions and revenues, from whence each individual drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere chief of the franciscans absolutely prohibited both separate and collective property to the monks of his order; and neither the individual nor the community were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or any worldly goods.ⁱ This

Intestine divisions among the franciscans occasioned by different explanations of their rule.

^h See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256, 266, 278, &c. Luc. Waddingii *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. p. 380.

ⁱ The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow; c. vi. "Præter sibi nihil appropriant, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem; sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro eleemosyna confidentur . . ." i. e. let them be sturdy beggars, " . . . Hæc est illa cel-

injunction appeared so severe to several of the friars minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by the Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. who, in the year 1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated considerably its excessive rigour.^k But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of that order, those particularly who were called the *spiritual*,^l whose melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which Innocent IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those who were for mitigating the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff, it was enacted, that the franciscan friars should be permitted to possess certain places, habitations, goods and chattels, books, &c. and to make use of them, but that the *property* of all these things should reside in St. Peter, or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontiff they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious deprivation of their holy rule, and was consequently opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these *spiritual* malcontents retired into the woods and deserts, while others were apprehended by Crescentius, the general of the society, and sent into exile.^m

xxxii. The face of affairs was however soon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, John of Parma was chosen general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the *spiritual*, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. Francis.ⁿ By this reform, he brought back the order to

situdo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni colorum instituit."

^k This bull was published by Emmanuel Roderic, in his *Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

^l Luc. Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99, they were also called *zelatores*, and *casarians*, from their chief Casarius.

^m Luc. Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128, et tom. iii. p. 171.

ⁿ Luc. Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 171.

its primitive state ; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments cast into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty.^o His successor, the famous Bonaventura, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the two contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with that degree of success which he expected from them ; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from Alexander IV. a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which Innocent IV. had given of the rule of their founder.^p On the other hand, the faction that adhered to the sentiments of John of Parma maintained their cause with such success, that in an assembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of Innocent was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it differed from that which had been formerly given by Gregory IX.^q

Another contest arises among the franciscans concerning the Everlasting Gospel of the abbot Joachim.

XXXIII. This dispute concerning the true sense of the rule of St. Francis was followed by another of equal moment, which produced new and unhappy divisions among the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in Italy several pretended prophecies of the famous Joachim, abbot of Sora in Calabria,^r whom the multitude revered as a person di-

^o Id. *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 4.

^p This edict of Alexander IV. is published by Waddingius, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446, among the *records*.

^q The interpretation of Gregory mitigated the rule of St. Francis ; but that of Innocent went much farther, and seemed to destroy its fundamental principles. See Waddingi *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. The lamentable divisions that reigned among the monks of this famous order, are described, in an accurate and lively manner, by Bonaventura himself, in a letter which is extant in the *Annales* now cited, tom. iv. p. 58.

^r The resemblance that there is between the words *Sora* and *Flora*, has probably led Dr. Mosheim here into a slight mistake. *Sora* is not in Calabria, but in the province of Capua. It must therefore have been *Flora* that our author intended to write, as Spanheim, Fleury, and the other ecclesiastical historians have done.

vinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. The greatest part of these predictions were contained in a certain book, entitled, *The Everlasting Gospel*, and which was also commonly called *The book of Joachim*.^s This Joachim, whether a real or fictitious person we shall not pretend to determine, among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the church of Rome, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and *more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost*, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to raise up and employ for that purpose. For he divided the world into *three ages*, relative to the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, viz. the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the *Son*, were, according to the predictions of this fanatic, now past, and the third age, even that of the *Holy Ghost*, was at hand. The *spiritual*, i. e. the austere franciscans, who were for the most part well meaning, but wrong-headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with the most voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to Joachim, but applied these predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their holy founder St. Francis;^t for they maintained that he delivered to mankind the *true gospel*, and that he was the angel whom St. John saw flying in the midst of heaven.^u

^s The Merlin of the English, the Malaehy of the Irish, and Nostradamus of the French, those pretended soothsayers, who, under the illusory or feigned persuasion of a divine impulse, sung in uncouth verse the future revolutions of church and state, are just what we may suppose the Joachim of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are still to be seen; nay, they have passed through various editions, and have been illustrated by the lucubrations of several commentators. It is not to be doubted, that Joachim was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the *Everlasting Gospel*, the work undoubtedly of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of Joachim, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from *Revelations* xiv. 6, and it contained three books; the first was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ veritatis*, i. e. *The Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova, or New Revelations*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *The Ten stringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by Jac. Echard, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominicæ* tom. i. p. 202.

^t This is acknowledged even by Wadding, notwithstanding his partiality in favour of the *spiritual* or austere franciscans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

^u *Revel.* xiv. 6. *And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the ever-*

xxxiv. At the very time that the intestine divisions among the franciscans were at the greatest height, one of the *spiritual* friars, whose name was Gerhard, undertook the explication of the *Everlasting Gospel* attributed to Joachim, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*.^w In this book, the fanatical monk,

Gerhard's
book condem-
ned.

lasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c. See on this subject Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 221, 228, 235, 246. Echardi *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202. *Codex Inquisit. Tholosane a Limborchio edit.* p. 301, 302, 305, &c.

^w As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, or *The Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, for so it was also called, as we are told by Guill. de St. Amour, in his book *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38, with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot Joachim, and it consisted in three books, as has been already observed. But the *Introduction* to this gospel was the work of a certain franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended gospel, and applied them to his order. The *Everlasting Gospel* was neither complained of by the university of Paris, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontiff, which are to be seen in Boulay's *Hist. Académ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The former consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the latter was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. Francis maintain, that the author was a dominican; while the domiueican party affirm obstinately that he was a franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infamous work in question was John of Parma, general of the franciscans, who is known to have been most warmly attached to the *spiritual* faction of that order, and to have maintained the sentiments of the abbot Joachim with an excessive zeal. See Luc. Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9, who endeavours to defend him against this accusation, though without success. See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. Martii, p. 157, for John of Parma, though he preferred the *Gospel* of St. Francis to that of Christ, has nevertheless obtained a place among the saints. The learned Echard is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 202, 203, from the curious manuscripts yet preserved in the Sorbonne, relating to the *Everlasting Gospel*, that Gerhard, a franciscan friar, was the author of the infamous *Introduction* to that book. This Gerhard, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion to John of Parma, and not only maintained with the greatest obstinacy the cause of the *spiritual*, but also embraced all the sentiments that were attributed to the abbot Joachim, with such an ardent zeal, that he chose to remain eighteen years in prison rather than to abandon them. See Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 4, 7. The franciscans, who were called *observantes*, i. e. *vigilant*, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place Gerhard among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the power of working miracles. See Waddingii *Annales Min.* tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be observed 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the dominicans and franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order thus to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain; but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the franciscans, but only on

among other enormities, as insipid as impious, inculcated the following detestable doctrine; "That St. Francis, who was the angel mentioned in the *Revelations*, xiv. 6, had promulgated to the world the true and everlasting gospel of God; that the gospel of Christ was to be abrogated in the year 1260, and to give place to this new and everlasting gospel, which was to be substituted in its room; and that the ministers of this great reformation were to be humble and barefooted friars, destitute of all worldly emoluments."^x When this strange book was published at Paris, in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and indeed in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror and indignation against the mendicant friars, who had already incurred the displeasure of the public on other accounts. This universal ferment engaged the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. though much against his will, to order the suppression of this absurd book in the year 1255; he however took care to have this order executed with the greatest possible mildness, lest it should hurt the reputation of the mendicants, and open the eyes of the superstitious multitude. But the university of Paris was not satisfied with these gentle and timorous proceedings; and consequently its doctors repeated without interruption their accusations and complaints, until the extravagant production, that had given such just and general offence, was publicly committed to the flames.^y

that faction of the order, which is known under the title of the *spiritual*. Perhaps we might go still farther, and allege, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone as placed an idle and enthusiastie confidence in the abbot Joachim, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true understanding of what has been said concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* by the following learned men; Jo. Andr. Schmidius, *Singular Dissertat.* Helinst. 1700, in 4to. Usserius, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Occident.* e. ix. § 20, p. 337. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. Natal. Alexander, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xiii.* Artic. iv. p. 78. Lue. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9. Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of an handful of franciscans.

^x See Guil. de St. Amore, *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38, 39, who observes, that the book under consideration was not indeed published before the year 1254; but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book, see Herm. Corneri *Chronicon*, in *Eccardi Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850. *Chronicon Egmondanum*, in *Ant. Matthæi Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 517. Ricobaldus apud *Eccardum*, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 1215. But there is a great difference between these extracts, which seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations from the *Everlasting Gospel* of Joachim, while others drew theirs from the *Introduction* of Gerhard, not sufficiently distinguishing the one work from the other.

^y See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 299. Jordani *Chronicon*, in *Muratorii Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998.

xxxv. The intestine flame of discord, that had raged among the franciscans, and was smothered, though not extinguished, by the prudent management of Bonaventura, broke out anew with redoubled fury after the death of that pacific doctor. The

The famous constitution of Nicolas III. relating to the rule of St. Francis.

franciscan monks, who were fond of opulence and ease, renewed their complaints against the rule of their founder, as unreasonable and unjust, demanding what it was absolutely beyond the power of man to perform. Their complaints however were without effect; and their schemes were disconcerted by the Roman pontiff, Nicolas III. who leaned to the side of the austere franciscans; and in the year 1279, published that famous *constitution*, which confirmed the rule of St. Francis, and contained an accurate and elaborate explication of the maxims it recommended, and the duties it prescribed.^z By this edict, the pontiff renewed that part of the rule, that prohibited all kinds of property among the franciscans, every thing that bore the least resemblance of a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the *use* of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of Innocent IV. was to reside in the church of Rome. Nor did the provident pontiff stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate.^a

xxxvi. However disposed Nicolas was to satisfy the *spiritual* and austere part of the franciscan order, which was now become numerous both in Italy and France, and particularly in the province of Narbonne, the *constitution* abovementioned was far from producing that effect. The monks of that gloomy faction, that resided in Italy, received the papal edict with a sullen and discontented silence. Their brethren in France, and more especially in the southern parts of that kingdom,

Excites new troubles and exasperates the *spiritual*.

^z Some affirm, that this famous *constitution* was issued out by Nicolas IV. but their opinion is refuted by Wadding, in his *Annal. Min.* tom. v. p. 73.

^a This constitution is yet extant in the *Jus Canon. Lib. vi. Decretal. Tit. xii. c. iii. p. 1028*, edit. Bohmeriana, and is vulgarly called the *constitution Exiit*, from its beginning thus; *Exiit*, &c.

where the inhabitants are of a warm and sanguine complexion, testified in an open and tumultuous manner, their disapprobation of this new *constitution*, and having at their head a famous franciscan, whose name was Jean Pierre d'Olive, they excited new dissensions and troubles in the order.^b This Pierre d'Olive was a native of Serignan in Languedoc, who had acquired a shining reputation by his writings, and whose eminent sanctity and learning drew after him a great number of followers; nor is it to be denied, that there were many important truths and wise maxims in the instructions he delivered. One of the great objects, which he never lost sight of in his writings, was the corruption of the church of Rome, which he censured with a peculiar freedom and severity, in a work entitled, *Postilla* or *A Commentary on the Revelations*, affirming boldly, that that church was represented by the *whore of Babylon, the mother of harlots*, whom St. John beheld *sitting upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.*^c It is however to be observed, that this severe censor of a corrupt church, was himself a most superstitious fanatic in several respects, having imbibed the greatest part of those monstrous opinions, which the *spiritual* pretended to have received from the abbot Joachim; to which he added an impious and extravagant veneration for St. Francis, whom he considered as wholly and *entirely transformed into the person of Christ.*^d In the debate concerning the sense of the rule of this famous chief, he seemed to adhere to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed his followers the *bare use of the necessities of life*; and being called upon, at different times, by the authority of his superiors, to declare his sentiments upon this head, he professed his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question by Nicolas III. He leaned nevertheless to the side of those austere and *spiritual* franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property

^b In some ancient records, this ringleader is called *Petrus Betterrensis*, i. e. *Peter of Beziers*, because he resided for a long time in the convent of Beziers, where he performed the functions of a public teacher. By others he is named *Petrus de Serignano*, from the place of his nativity. This remark is so much the more necessary, as certain authors have taken these three denominations for three distinct persons.

^c *Revelations*, xvii. 3, 4, 5.

^d *Totum Christo configuratum*. See the *Litera Magistrorum de Postilla Fratris P. Joh. Olivi*, in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 213. Waddingi *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 61.

among the individuals of the order, but also maintained that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth;^e hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. Francis.^f

XXXVII. The credit and authority of Pierre d'Olive, whom the multitude considered not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the *spiritual*, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so overruled the impetuous motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of Matthew of Aqua Sparta, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the franciscans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him, not only the indignation and rage of the austerer part of the *spiritual* franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of Ancona, and afterward in France, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year

^e The real sentiments of Pierre d'Olive will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535, and in Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

^f For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as Raynaldus, Alexander, and Oudinus, but also the following; Baluzii *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213, and in *Vitis Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752. Car. Plessis d'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226. Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52, 108, 121, 140, 236, and more especially p. 378, where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. Schelhornii *Annotates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 678. *Histoire Generale de Langue-doc, par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. iv. p. 91, 179, 182. The bones of Pierre d'Olive, were raised by the order of the Roman pontiff, John XXII. and burnt publicly, with his writings, in the year 1325. See Raynald. *ad An.* 1325, § 20.

1289.^g His successor Raymond Goffredi employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austerer franciscans, who had been the principal fomenters of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into Armenia, in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate franciscans, who had a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the *spiritual*, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they at length effected under the pontificate of Boniface VIII. On the other hand, the more rigid part of the *spiritual* faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which Nicolas III. had given of the rule of St. Francis. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else than seditions and schisms in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility.^h

xxxviii. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian franciscans, of the *spiritual* party, addressed themselves to Celestin V. for a permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. Francis had prescribed to his followers. The good pontiff, who before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life,ⁱ and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self de-

^g Waddingi *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210, 211, 235.

^h Id. *ibid.* tom. v. p. 108, 121, 140, and more especially p. 235, 236.

ⁱ This pope, whose name was Peter Meuron, had retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by Urban IV. in 1264, and erected into a distinct order called the *hermits of St. Damien*. Upon Meuron's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the name of Celestin V. his order, which must not be confounded with the new *franciscan celestin hermits*, took the title of *celestins*.

nial, granted, with the utmost facility, the request of these friars, and placed at the head of the new order, a monk, whose name was Liberatus, and who was one of the greatest *self tormentors* of all the monastie tribe.^k Soon after this, Celestin, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and important office, resigned the pontificate, in which he was succeeded by Boniface VIII. who annulled every act that had been passed during the short reign of his predecessor, and suppressed, among other institutions, the new order, which had assumed the title of the *celestin hermits of St. Francis*.^l This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew upon them the most furious attacks of their enemies. The worldly minded franciscans persecuted them with the most unrelenting bitterness, accused them of various crimes, and even cast upon them the odious reproach of manicheism. Hence many of these unhappy fanatics retired into Achaia, from whence they passed into a small island, where they imagined themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and at liberty to *indulge* themselves in all the austerities of that miserable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holiness here below. But no retreat was sufficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel persecutors, who left no means unemployed to perpetuate their miseries. In the mean time, that branch of the *spiritual* franciscans that remained in Italy, continued to observe the rigorous laws of their primitive institution in spite of Boniface VIII. who used his utmost efforts to conquer their obstinacy. They erected societies of their order first in the kingdom of Naples, afterward in the Milanese, and in the marquisate of Ancona; and at length spreading themselves through the greatest part of Europe, they continued in the most violent state of war with the church of Rome, until the face of things was changed by the reformation. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquisition*.^m

^k Waddingi *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324, 338.

^l Id. *ibid.* tom. vi. p. 1. *Bullarium Magnum Contin* III. IV p. 108, 109.

^m The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the ecclesiastical history of what is called the *middle age*, has not hitherto been accurately

XXXIX. Toward the conclusion of this century arose in Italy the enthusiastic sect of the *fratricelli* and *bizochi*, which, in Germany and France, received ^{The *fratricelli* and *beguards*.} the denomination of *beguards*. They were condemned by Boniface VIII.^a and by several of his successors; and the *inquisitors* were charged by these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The *fratricelli*, or *little brethren*, were franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community of St. Francis, with a design to observe the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous manner than they were observed by the other franciscans; and who accordingly renounced every kind of possession and property both common and personal, and begged from

illustrated by any writer, though it be every way worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. Nay, these very rebellious franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve nevertheless an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the reformation in Europe, and who excited in the minds of the people a just aversion to the church of Rome. Raynaldus, Ezovius. Spondanus, in their *Annals*, Eymericus. in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, and Natalis Alexander, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, relate the revolutions that happened in the franciscan order, and in the church in general during this period; but their accounts are neither so accurate nor so ample as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surprised at the defects with which these latter abound. Wadding, who merits the highest encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, lay him under restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid franciscans had involved the church of Rome, and the strokes they had levelled, with no small success, at the majesty of the pontiffs; but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not however been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the *Diplomas* of the pontiffs and emperors, the *Acts of the Inquisition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

ⁿ See Trithemius *Annal. Hirsang.* tom. ii. p. 74, though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his accounts of the origin and sentiments of the *fratricelli*. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541, where the edict published in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. against the *bizochi*, or *beguards*, is inserted; as also Jordani *Chronicon*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Italie*, tom. iv. p. 1020.

door to door their daily subsistence.^o They alleged that neither Christ nor his apostles had any possessions, either *personal* or *in common*; and that *they* were the models whom St. Francis commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder, they were about clothed with sordid garments, or rather with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corruption of the church of Rome, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops, foretold the reformation of the church and the restoration of the true gospel of Christ by the *genuine* followers of St. Francis, and declared their assent to almost all the doctrines which were published under the name of the abbot Joachim. They esteemed and respected Celestin V. because, as has been already observed, he was in some measure the founder of their society, by permitting them to erect themselves into a separate order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his successor Boniface and the other pontiffs after him, who opposed the *fratricelli*, and persecuted their order.

^o The *fratricelli* resemble the *spiritual* in many of their maxims and observances, they however are a distinct body, and differ from them in various respects. The *spiritual*, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the *fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the franciscans, and withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The *spiritual* did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere *use* of them; whereas the *fratricelli* rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want, which St. Francis had prescribed in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alleged here.

^p The accounts of the *fratricelli*, that are given by ancient and modern writers, even by those that pretend to the greatest exactness, are extremely confused and uncertain. Trithemius, in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74, affirms, that they derived their origin from Tauchelinus, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the *catharists* and other sects that arose in those times. The franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate, that such a pestilential and impious sect, as that of the *fratricelli*, did not derive their origin from the order of St. Francis. In consequence of this, they deny that the *fratricelli* professed the franciscan rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the society, which was distinguished by this title, was a heap of rabble, composed of persons of all kinds and all religions, whom Herman Pongilup, toward the conclusion of this century, gathered together at Ferrara in Italy, and erected into a distinct order. See Luc Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given rise to that of the *fratricelli*; but his efforts are vain, for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and observed, in the most rigorous manner, the rule of St. Francis; and nevertheless, he denies that they were franciscans; by which he means, and indeed can only mean, that they were not such franciscans as those who lived in subjection to the general of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontiffs had given of the rule of their founder. All Wadding's boasted demonstration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the *fratricelli* were franciscans.

XL. As the franciscan order acknowledged, as its companions and associates, a set of men who observed the *third rule* that was prescribed by St. Francis, and were from thence commonly called *ter-*

Tertiaries, bocasoti, and begins.

cans who separated themselves from the grand order of St. Francis, and rejected the authority of the general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together with the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs; and this no mortal ever took it into his head to deny. Hermannus, or, as he is called by many, Armannus Pongilup, whom Wadding and others consider as the parent of the *fratricelli*, lived in this century at Ferrara, in the highest reputation on account of his extraordinary piety; and when he died, in the year 1269, was interred with the greatest magnificence and pomp in the principal church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the most illustrious saints; and it was supposed that the Supreme Being bore testimony to his eminent sanctity by various miracles. But as Pongilup had been suspected of heresy by the *inquisitors*,* on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the *catharists*, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of Boniface VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The *judicial acts* of this remarkable event, are recorded by Muratori, in his *Antiquit. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147, and it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who consider Pongilup as the founder of the order of the *fratricelli*, are entirely mistaken. So far was he from being the founder of this sect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the matter is, that this famous enthusiast was a *catharist*, infected with *paucian* or *manichean* principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled *bagnolists*, from a town of that name in Provence, where they resided. Some modern writers indeed have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the *fratricelli* were a separate branch of the rigid and austere franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the *beguards* or *beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by Limborch, in his *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69, who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by Baluzius, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195, and *Vit. Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 509, by Beausobre, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the Wars of the Hussites*, p. 380, and by Wadding, in his *Annal. Minor* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain, as we shall show in its place, that there was a real difference between the *fratricelli* and the *beguards*, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

The principal cause of the errors that have obscured the *History of the Fratricelli*, is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. *Fratricellus*, or *fraterculus*, or *little brother*, was an Italian nickname, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those, who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their clothing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See Villani *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 84, p. 423. Imola in *Dante*, p. 1121, in Muratori *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened that this general term of *fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *catharists*, the *valdenses*, the *apostles*, and many other sects, who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude; while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the sect of the *fratricelli*, who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiffs, nay, were led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the *catharists*, at another, that it was the sect of the *valdenses*, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered that the word *fraterculus*, or *little brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nickname,

* These formidable censors were entitled, *inquisitors of heretical pravity*.

tiaries;¹ so likewise the order of the *fratricelli*, who were desirous of being considered as the only genuine followers of St. Francis, had a great number of *tertiaries* attached to their cause. These *tertiaries*, or half monks, were called in Italy, *bizochi* and *bocasoti*; in France, *beguins*; and in Germany, *beguards*, or *beghards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost

or a term of derision, when applied to them. it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. *Fratricelli*, or *little brothers*, is a word of the same signification with *friars minors*; and every one knows that this latter appellation was adopted by the franciscans. as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *fratres minores*, i. e. *friars minors*, that the Italians called *fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only allege one, from the *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, by Gulielmus de Thoco in *Actis Sanctor. Martii*. tom. i. cap. ii. § xxi. “*Destruxit*,” says that biographer, “*et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem St. Thomas . . . cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant fraterculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hac humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant . . . Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit Decretalem.*”

Now this very Decretal of John XXII against the *fratricelli*, which Thoco calls *admirable* is, to mention no other testimonies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this Decretal, which is to be seen in the *Extravaganlia Joh. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112, edit. Bœhmerianæ, the pontiff expresses himself thus: “*Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgari- ter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini, nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ. in insula Siciliæ . . . publice mendicare solent.*” The pontiff afterward divides the *fratricelli* into *monks* and *tertiaries*, or, which amounts to the same thing, as we shall show in its place, into *fratricelli* and *beguins*. With respect to the *fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus; “*Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum . . . se profiteri ad literam conservare confingunt, prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujas status, seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, et sit ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa . . . viribus penitus evanaverit.*” Here the pontiff describes clearly those *fratricelli*, who, separating themselves from the franciscans, with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. Francis, were erected into a distinct order by pope Cœlestin V. And in the following passage he characterizes, with the same perspicuity, the *bizochi* or *beguins*, who entitled themselves of the *third order of the penitents of St. Francis*; “*Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci penitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.*”

1 Beside two very austere rules drawn up by St. Francis, the one for the *friars minors*, and the other for the *poor sisters*. called *clarisses*. from St. Clara their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions. were nevertheless disposed to enter, with certain restrictions. into the franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer. mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the franciscan historians have given accounts of this *third rule*, more especially Wadding. *Annal Min* tom. ii. p. 7. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They that professed this third rule, were called *friars of the penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *brethren of the sack*, but they were more generally known by the denomination of *tertiaries*. The greatest part of the religious orders in the church of Rome, imitated this institution of St. Francis, as soon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence at this day these orders continue to have their *tertiaries*.

all places.^r They differed from the *fratricelli*, not in their opinions and doctrines, but only in their manner of living.

^r The *tertiaries* that were connected with the order of the *fratricelli*, arose about the year 1296, in the marquisate of Ancona, and the neighbouring countries, and were called *bizochi*, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. and published by Du Boulay, in his *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. They are mentioned under the same title by John XXII. in the bull already cited. Add to all these authorities, that of the learned Du Fresne, who, in his *Glossar. Latinit. mediz*, tom. i. p. 1188, observes, that this denomination is derived from *bizochus*, which signifies in French *une Besace*, i. e. a sack or wallet, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were used to carry about with them. The term *bocasolus*, or *rocasolus*, as Du Boulay writes it, in his *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 510, has no doubt the same origin, and bears the same signification. It is used by Jordao, in his *Chronicle*, from whence we shall cite a remarkable passage in the following note. The denominations of *beghards* and *beguins*, that were given to the *tertiaries* in France and Italy, are very frequently to be met with in the ecclesiastical history of the middle age. The accounts however which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surprised to find the history of the *beghards* and *beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkness than any other part of the ecclesiastical annals of the age now mentioned. It is therefore my present design to remove this perplexity, and to dispel this darkness, as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these famous denominations.

The words *beghard*, or *begghard*, *begutta*, *beghinus*, and *beghina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote *beghard* and *begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination in the place of the German, and changed *beghard* into *beghinus* and *beghina*; so that those who in Holland and Germany were called *beghard* and *begutte*, were denominated in France *beghina* and *beghinæ*. Nay, even in Germany and Holland, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term *begutte*, of which change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Beside, I have dooe this in a large work now almost finished, concerning the *beghards* and *beghins*, wherein I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and have at the same time detected the errors into which many learned men have fallen in treating this part of the history of the church.* At present therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen*, *beggeren*, which signifies to *seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness*. In joining to this word the syllable *hard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *beggehard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived; *begutta* signifies a female beggar. When Christianity was introduced into Germany, the word *beggen* or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the gothic translation of the Four Gospels attributed to Uphilas, the word *beggen* employed to express the duty of *earnest and fervent prayer*. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a *beghard*, i. e. a *devout man*; and the denomination of *begutta* was given in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they, who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that means a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their fellow christians; hence it came to pass, that all those who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called *beghardi* or *beguttæ*.

* The work here hinted at has not yet appeared; though we hope that those who are intrusted with the papers of the learned author, will prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.

The *fratricelli* were real monks, subjected to the rule of St. Francis; while the *bizochi*, or *beguins*, if we except their sordid habit, and certain observances and maxims,

The observations we have hitherto made, with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question, will serve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the history of the *beghards* and *beghinæ* has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *beghards* and *beguines* that sprung up in Europe in the thirteenth century; and will show him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living. The first and original signification of the word *beghard* or *beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people, was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons *beghards*, or, if they were women, *begharts*, without ever once considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called *apostles*, the rigid franciscans, the *brethren of the free spirit*, of whom hereafter, all embraced this sordid state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately *beghards*, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character, which they possessed in common; was striking; while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word *beghard* acquired a second and new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who *prayed* with uncommon frequency, and who *distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety*. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word *methodist*, which is at present the denomination of a certain set of fanatics in these kingdoms. Such therefore as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow-citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect, and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of *beghards* and *begultes* in Germany, and of *beguins* and *beguines* in France. The use of these terms was at first so extensive, that, as we could show by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themselves; but, in process of time, they were applied with less extent, and were confined to those who formed a sort of an intermediate order between the *monks* and *citizens*, and who resembled the former in their manner of living, without assuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The *tertiaries*, therefore, or half monks of the dominican, franciscan, and in general, of all the religious orders, were called *beghards*; for though as *laycitizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The *fraternity of weavers*, the *brethren of St. Alexius*, the *followers of Gerhard the Great*, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called *beghards*, although they procured themselves the necessities of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the sordid trade of begging.

The denominations therefore of *beghards*, *begultes*, *beguins*, and *beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. Lewis, king of France. But, in process of time, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious *beggars*, and these sanetimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church, and what was still more horrible, many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *beghards* into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous, so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *lollhards*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more amply hereafter, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

which they followed in consequence of the injunctions of the famous saint now mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore considered in no other light, than as *seculars* and *laymen*.^s It is however to be observed, that the *bizochi* were divided into two classes, which derived their different denominations of *perfect* and *imperfect*, from the different degrees of austerity that they discovered in their manner of living. The *perfect* lived upon alms, abstained from wedlock, and had no fixed habitations. The *imperfect*, on the contrary, had their houses, wives, and possessions, and were engaged, like the rest of their fellow-citizens, in the various affairs of life.^t

XLI. We must not confound these *beguins* and *beguines*, who derived their origin from an austere branch of the franciscan order, with the German and Belgic *beguines*, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short space of time.^u Their origin was of

A great difference between the franciscan *beguines* and those of Germany and the Netherlands.

^s See the *Acta Inquis. Theolos.* published by Limborch, p. 298, 302, 310, 313, and particularly 307, 329, 382, 389, &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the *fratricelli* and *beguins*, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in Jordan's *Chronicon*, published by Muratori, in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020, and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head; Anno 1294. "Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio Apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut Regulam B. Francisci ad literam servare possent. Quibus plures Apostatæ adbæserunt, qui statum communis damnabant et declarationes Regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci," he ought to have said *fratricellos*, "Seculares;" i. e. the *tertiaries*, who were the friends and associates of the *fratricelli*, without quitting however their secular state, or entering into the monastic order, "Seculares, autem vocarant Bizochios aut Fratricellos vel Bocasotos," here Jordan is mistaken, in affirming, that the *seculars* were called *fratricelli*; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. Francis; and not to the *tertiaries*. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and show that the more austere professors of the franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into *friars* and *seculars*, and that the latter were called *bizochi*. "Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem. . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia;" &c.

^t This division is mentioned, or supposed, by several authors, and more especially in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosana*, p. 303, 310, 312, 313, 319, &c.

^u In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the *beghards* and *beguines*, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the *beguines* produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of *beguines* established in Holland and Flanders. It is true, they had no more than three of these authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up at Vilvorden, by the *beguines*, who at that time, were settled there. See Aub. Mirei *Opera Diplomatico Historica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948, and tom. iii. p. 628, edit. nov. Erycius Puteanus, *De Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio*. This treatise of Puteanus is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled, Josephi Geldolphia Ryckel *Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. Ducaï, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers are mistaken, who place the first rise of the *beguines* in the

earlier date than this century, but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of *beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly *assiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking.* The first society of this kind, that we read of, was formed at Nivelles in Brabant, in the year 1226;^x and was followed by so many institutions of a like nature, in France, Germany, Holland, and Flanders, that toward the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called in conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs*.^y All these female societies

twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestible proof of the obscurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which these writers place their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only *convent of beguines*, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of Vilvorden in Brabant.

* All the *beghards* and *beguines* that yet remain in Flanders and Holland, where their convents have almost entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, affirm unanimously, that both their name and institution derive their origin from St. Begge, dutchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace to the king of Austrasia, who lived in the seventh century. This lady therefore they consider as their patroness, and honour her as a kind of tutelary divinity with the deepest sentiments of veneration and respect. See Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, in *vita S. Begge cum Adnotat. Duaci et Loranii edita*; a work of great bulk and little merit, and full of the most silly and insipid fables. Those who are no wellwishers to the cause of the *beguines*, adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from Lambert le Begue, a priest and native of Liege, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much esteemed on account of his eminent piety. The learned Peter Coens, canon of Antwerp, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Disquisitio Historica de Origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio*, Leod. 1672, in 12mo.

† * Other historians say, in the year 1207.

y See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, ad An. 1243, and 1250, p. 540, 696. Thomas Cantfratensis in *Bono Universali de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478, edit. Colvenerii. Petrus de Herenthal, in his *Annals*, from which, though they are not yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, in his *Observationes ad*

were not governed by the same laws; but in the greatest part of them, the hours that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds. The poor, sick, and disabled *beguines* were supported by the pious liberality of such opulent persons as were friends to the order.

XLII. This female institution was soon imitated in Flanders by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the *beguines*, under the inspection and government of a certain chief, and with the same religious views and purposes; still however reserving to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life.¹ These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called *beghards*, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and the Dutch, *bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *lollards*; in France they were distinguished at first by that of *bons valets*, or *bons garçons*, and afterward by that of *beguins*; they were also called the *fraternity of weavers* from the trade which the greatest part of them exercised. The first society of the *beghards* seems to have been that which was established at Antwerp in the year 1228, and continues still in a flourishing state; though the *brethren*, of whom it is composed, have long since departed from their primitive rule of discipline and manners. This first establishment of the *beghards* was followed by many more in Germany, France, Holland, and Flanders; though, after all their success, their congregations were less numerous than those of the *beguines*.² It is worthy of observation that the Roman pontiffs never hon-

Beghards or
lollards.

Vitam S. Beggæ, § cæxvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of *beguines*, that were founded during this and the following century in Holland and Flanders, are treated in an ample manner by Aub. Miræus, in his *Opera Historico diplomatica*, John Bapt. Grammaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, Anton. Sanders in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*, and by the other writers of Belgic history.

² Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, ad An. 1253, p. 539, 540.

¹ See Ryckellii *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635. Ant. Sanderii *Flandria Illustrata*, lib. c. xvi. p. 136. Jo. Bapt. Grammayei *Antiquit. Fland. et in Gandavo*, p. 22. Aub. Miræi *Opera Diplom. Hist.* tom. iii. c. clxviii. p. 145. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 248, who is nevertheless chargeable with many errors. "Gerhardus Antoninus, Pater Minister," so the head of the order is called in our times, "Beghardorum Antverpiensium in Epistola ad Ryekium de Beghardorum origine et fatis," in Ryckellii *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489. This author indeed from a spirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth designedly in various places.

oured the societies of the *beghards* and *beguines* with their solemn or explicit approbation, nor confirmed their establishments by the seal of their authority. They however granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often against the stratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the *beghards* which the pontiffs granted in compliance with the earnest solicitations of many illustrious personages, who wished well to that society. It did not however continue always in a flourishing state. The greatest part of the convents, both of the *beghards* and *beguines*, are now either demolished, or converted to other uses. In Flanders indeed a considerable number of the latter still subsist, but few of the former are to be found any where.

XLIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the rulers of the church, and of the monastic and other religious orders that were instituted or became famous during this century, it will not be improper to conclude this chapter by mentioning briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks were,

Nicetas Acominatus, who composed a work, entitled *The History and Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*;

Germanus, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of less note, *A Book against the Latins*, and *An Exposition of the Greek Liturgy*;

Theodorus Lascaris, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable parts, and were desirous of showing their zeal for the honour of their nation;

Nicephorus Blemmida, who employed his talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions between the Greeks and Latins;

Arsenius, whose *Synopsis of the Canon Law of the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible;

Georgius Acropolita, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negociations in which he was employed by the emperor Michael;

Johannes Beccus or Veccus, who involved himself in much trouble, and made himself many enemies, by defending the cause of the Latins against his own nation with too much zeal;

George Metochita, and Constantine Meliteniota, who employed, without success, their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

George Pachymeres, who acquired a name by his commentary upon Dionysius, the pretended chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time; and

George the *Cyprian*, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to Veccus abovementioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions.^b

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century, renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine Latin writers. our account to those among them who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was nevertheless a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published;^c

Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture;^d

Francis, the founder of the famous society of *friars minors*, or *franciscans*, whose writings were designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and less judgment;

^b For a more ample account of all these writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

^c The life of Joachim was written in Italian, by Gregory di Lauro, and published in 4to. at Naples, in the year 1660. The first edition of his prophecies was printed at Venice, in the year 1517, and was followed by several new editions, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, great and small.

^d Langton was a learned and polite author for the age he lived in. It is to him we are indebted for the division of the bible into chapters. He wrote *Commentaries* upon all the *Books of the Old Testament*, and upon *St. Paul's Epistles*.

Alan de l'Isle, a logician, who made no mean figure among the disputatious tribe, who applied himself also to the study of chymistry, and published several moral discourses, in which there are many wise and useful exhortations and precepts;^e

Jacobus de Vitriaco, who acquired a name by his *Oriental History*; and Jacobus de Voragine, whose *History of the Lombards*^f was received with applause.

The writers of this century, who obtained the greatest renown on account of their laborious researches, in what was called philosophical, or dialectical theology, were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, who were each of them truly possessed of an inquisitive turn of mind, a sublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of sounding the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories.^g The other writers, who trod the same intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were many in number, and several of them justly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; such were Alexander de Hales, the interpreter of Aristotle, William of Paris,^h Robert Capito,ⁱ Thomas Cantipratensis, John de Peckham, William Durand, Roger Bacon,^k Richard Middleton, Ægidius de Columna, Armand de Bello Visu, and several others.

Hugo de St. Caro gained much applause by the *Concordance*, which he composed of the *Holy Bible*.^l

^e Several of the name of Alan lived in this century, who have been strangely confounded both by ancient and modern writers. See Jaq. le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 300, et *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Civil. et Eccles. de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 293.

^f Jac. Eebardi *Scriptor. Domin.* tom. i. p. 454. Bollandi *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9.

^g For an account of Albert, see Eebard. *Script. Dom.* tom. i. p. 162. For an account of Thomas Aquinas, who was called the *Angel of the scholastics*, among other splendid titles, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Martii*, p. 655, et Ant. Turon, *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1737, in 4to. We have also a circumstantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings, and exploits of Bonaventura, the tutelary saint of the *Lionnois* in France, in the two following books, viz. Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307, and the *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventura*, par un Religieux Cordelier, a Lyon, 1747, in 8vo.

^h See the *Gallia Christiana*, published by the benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

ⁱ The learned Anthony Wood has given an ample account of Robert Capito, in his *Intitiquat. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 81, 105.

^k We are surprised to find Roger Bacon thrust here into a crowd of vulgar literati, since that great man, whose astonishing genius and universal learning have already been taken notice of, was, in every respect, superior to Albert and Bonaventura, two of the heroes of Dr. Mosheim's triumvirate.

^l Hugo de St. Caro, or *St. Cher*, composed also a very learned collection of the

Guillaume de St. Amour carried on with great spirit and resolution, but with little success, a literary and theological war against the mendicant friars, who looked upon begging as a mark of sanctity.

Humbert de Romanis drew up a system of rules and precepts, with a view to put under a better regulation the lives and manners of the monastic orders.

Guilielmus Peraldus arose in this century to the highest degree of literary renown, in consequence of a system of morals he published under the title of *Summa Virtutum et Vitiatorum*.^m

Raymond Martin yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his contemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei* or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

John of Paris deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of Christ in that holy ordinance.ⁿ

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. HOWEVER numerous and deplorable the corruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, they were nevertheless increased in this century, instead of being reformed, and the religion of Christ continued to suffer under the growing tyranny of fanaticism and superstition. The

The general
state of relig-
ion.

various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts of the bible. This work, which he entitled *Correctorium Bibliæ*, is preserved in manuscript in the Sorbonne library. We must not forget to observe also, that his *Concordance* is the first that ever was compiled.

^m See Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

ⁿ We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise, entitled, *Determinatio de S. Cæna*, and published in 8vo. at London, by the learned Dr. Alix, in the year 1686. See also Echardi *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501. Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 4, 576, 577.

progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Greeks and orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that was made toward a reformation in the doctrine or discipline of the church. On the other hand, the school divines, among whom the dominican and franciscan monks made the greatest figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions and endless divisions, and by that cavilling, quibbling, disputatious spirit, that is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true, that these scholastic doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the most enormous and criminal corrupters of Christianity were those who led the multitude into the two following abominable errors; that it was in the power of man to perform, if he pleased, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in certain composed bodily gestures.

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth council of the Lateran that was held by Innocent III. in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of ecclesiastics were assembled,^o that imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines, or *articles of faith*, were imposed upon christians. Hitherto the opinions of the christian doctors, concerning the *man-*

^o At this council there were present four hundred and twelve bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, beside the ambassadors of almost all the European princes.

ner in which the body and blood of Christ were *present* in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined by any clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every christian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this presence in the manner he thought most agreeable to the declarations of scripture, and to decide in favour of the most monstrous doctrine that the phrensy of superstition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the opinion, that is embraced at this day in the church of Rome relating to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he *had the honour* of introducing and establishing the use of the term *transubstantiation* which was hitherto absolutely unknown.^p The same pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; a confession that implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent. Before this period several doctors, indeed; looked upon this kind of *confession*, as a duty inculcated by divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every christian's choice, to make this confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confidant and director.^q These two laws, which, by the authority of Innocent, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the phrensy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times,

The sect of the flagellantes or whippers.

^p See Edm. Albertinus, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

^q See the book of the learned Baillet, concerning *auricular confession*.

than the rise of the sect called *flagellantes* or *whippers*, which sprung up in Italy in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of Europe. The societies that embraced this new discipline presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most popular cities, and, also through the fields and deserts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance.* This method of appeasing the Deity was perfectly conformable to the notions concerning religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did these fanatical *whippers* do any thing more, in this extravagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had received from the monks, especially from those of the mendicant orders. Hence they attracted the esteem and veneration, not only of the populace, but also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders, on account of their extraordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect however did not continue always in the same high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive *whippers* were exemplary in point of morals, yet their societies were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous and impious opinions. Hence both the emperors and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious phrensy, by declaring all devout *whipping* contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interests.

- iv. The christian interpreters and commentators of this century differ very little from those of the preceding times. The greatest part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth, or rather of their imaginations, what they called the *internal juice and marrow* of the scriptures, i. e. their hid-

The method of interpreting and explaining the scriptures little altered in this century.

* Christ. Schotgenii *Historia Flagellantium*. Jaques Boileau, *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the *whippers*, exhibited in Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 105; with which the reader may compare Muratori *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

den and mysterious sense; and this they did with so little dexterity, so little plausibility and invention, that the most of their explications must appear insipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop Langton, Hugh de St. Cher, and Antony of Padua, of the various books of the *Old* and *New Testament*. The *mystic* doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too *penetrating* and *quicksighted* not to perceive clearly in the holy scriptures all those doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantastic system. Nor were their adversaries, the *schoolmen*, entirely averse to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal industry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors, than in inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of Alexander Hales, Guilielmus Alvernus, and Thomas Aquinas himself. We must not however omit observing, that the scholastic doctors in general, and more especially these now mentioned, had recourse often to the subtleties of logic and metaphysic, to assist them in their explications of the sacred writings. To facilitate the study and interpretation of these divine books, Hugh de St. Cher composed his *Concordance*,* and the dominicans, under the eye of their supreme chief, the learned Jordan, gave a new edition of the Latin translation of the bible, carefully revised and corrected from the ancient copies.† The Greeks contributed nothing that deserves attention toward the illustration of the holy scriptures: the greatest part of which were expounded with great learning by Gregory Abulpharaius, that celebrated Syrian, whose erudition was famous throughout all the east, and whom we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history.‡

* See Echardi *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

† Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin

‡ Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 277

v. Systems of theology and morals were multiplied exceedingly in this century: and the number of those writers, who treated of the divine perfections and worship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly. All such as were endowed with any considerable degree of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon these noble branches of sacred science more especially the academical and public teachers, among whom the dominicans and franciscans held the most eminent rank. It is indeed neither necessary to mention the names, nor to enumerate the productions of these doctors since whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who were no more than their echos. The latter of these two truly great men, who is commonly called the *Angel of the school* or the *Angelic Doctor*, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system or *sum* of theology and morals seen the light than it was received universally with the highest applause placed in the same rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and admitted as the standard of truth and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and the youth their method of study. Certain writers indeed have denied that Thomas was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name,* but the reasons they allege in support of this notion are utterly destitute of evidence and solidity.*

vi. The greatest part of these doctors followed Aristotle as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtle philosopher, in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity.

The scholastic doctors for the most part realists.*

* See Jo. Launoi *Traditio Ecclesie circa Simoniam*. p. 290.

† See Natalis Alexander, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xiii.* p. 391. Echard and Quetif, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. Sæc. xiii.* tom. i. p. 293. Ant. Tourou, *l'ie de St Thomas*, p. 604

‡ * In the original we find *positivi* in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the *positivi* were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with *biblici* mentioned in the following section. See above, cent. xi. part ii. ch. iii. § viii

and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. In their philosophical explications of the more sublime truths of that divine religion they followed the hypothesis of the *realists*, which sect, in this century, was much more numerous and flourishing than that of the *nominalists*, on account of the lustre and credit it derived from the authority of Thomas Aquinas and Albert, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet, notwithstanding all the subtilty and penetration of these *irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic* doctors, as they were commonly styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For, not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and presumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of shortsighted mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their manner of reasoning, which every true philosopher will, of all others, be most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their terms accurately, and hence arose innumerable disputes merely about words; nor did they divide their subject with perspicuity and precision, and hence they generally treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner. The great *Angelic Doctor* himself, notwithstanding his boasted method, was defective in these respects; his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness and proportion.

vii. The method of investigating divine truth by reason and philosophy prevailed universally, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures and the writings of the fathers, and who

The number
of compilers
or *biblicists*,^{*}
greatly dimin-
ished.

* In the margin of the original, instead of *biblicists*, which we find in the text, Dr. Mosheim has wrote *sententiarii*, which is undoubtedly an oversight. The *sententiarii*, or followers of Peter Lombard, who is considered as the father of the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the same class with the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding section, and were quite opposite to the *biblici*, both in their manner of thinking and teaching. See above, cent. xii. part ii. ch. ii. § viii.

acquired on that account the name of *biblicists*, diminished from day to day. It is true indeed, that several persons of eminent piety,^y and even some of the Roman pontiffs exhorted with great seriousness and warmth, the *scholastic* divines, and more especially those of the university of Paris, to change their method of teaching theology, and laying aside their philosophical abstraction and subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity with which it was there delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind.^z And it is moreover certain, that in process of time they committed to others the care of consulting the sources now mentioned, and reserved to themselves the much respected province of philosophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicane. And indeed independent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profession, and the circumstances in which they were placed. For the greatest part of these subtile doctors were dominican or franciscan friars; and as the monks of these orders had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, beside, wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of

^y See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9, 129, 180. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniensis*, tom. i. p. 91, 92, 94.

^z See the famous epistle of Gregory IX. to the professors in the university of Paris, published in Du Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129. The pontiff concludes that remarkable epistle with the following words; "Mandamus et stricte præcipimus quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ, doceatis Theologicam puritatem non adulterantes verbum Dei Philosophorum figmentis . . . sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cælestis eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant a fontibus salvatoris."

^a Faydit, *Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289. Richard Simon, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 170, 187.

authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to draw their materials from their own genius and memory, being destitute of all other succours.

VIII. The opinions which these philosophical divines instilled into the minds of the youth, appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they used their utmost efforts to stop the progress of these opinions, and to diminish the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their opposition at all ill grounded; for the subtle doctors of the school not only explained the mysteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their presumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reason, but also propagated the most impious sentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the universe, and the nature of the soul. And when it was objected to these sentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Christianity, and to the express doctrines of scripture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a reply, or rather for a method of escape, to that perfidious distinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deists, that these tenets were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, but that they were indeed *theologically false*, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an open war between the *biblicists*, or bible divines, and the scholastic doctors, which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole course of this century, particularly in the universities of Oxford and Paris, where we find the former loading the latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public acts and in their polemic writings, and accusing them of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel, both in their public lessons, and in their private discourse.^b Even St. Thomas himself was accused of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy at least, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Parisian doctors.^c

Much opposition made to the scholastic doctors.

^b See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 541. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 397, 430, 433, 472, &c.

^c See Jo. Launoii *Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni*, part iii. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. opp. part i. p. 485. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 204. Petri Zornii *Opuscula Sacra*, tom i. p. 445. R. Simon, *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. ii. p. 266. Echardi *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 435.

He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive and their names less respectable, were treated with more severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, had their memories branded with infamy.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter, were the *mystics*, who, rejecting every thing that had the least resemblance of argumentation or dispute about matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions, than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the *mystics* in the warmest manner; and this gave such weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out against the *schoolmen*, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the *mystics*, and not only extolled their *sentimental* system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; nay, they associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as any two things could possibly be. It is well known that Bonaventura, Albert the Great, Robert Capito, and Thomas Aquinas contributed to this reconciliation between mysticism and dialectics by their learned labours, and even went so far as to write commentaries upon Dionysius, the chief of the *mystics*, whom these subtle doctors probably looked upon with a secret contempt.

X. Both the schoolmen and mystics of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the christian life, and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely different. We

The mystics
oppose the
schoolmen.

The state of
christian mo-
rality.

may form an idea of mystical morality from the *Observations of George Pachymeres, upon the writings of Dionysius*, and from the *Spiritual Institutes, or Abridgment of Mystic Theology*, composed by Humbert de Romanis, of which productions the first was written in Greek and the second in Latin. As to the scholastic moralists, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of *sums*, or systematical collections of *virtues and vices*, that appeared in this century. The schoolmen divided the virtues into two classes. The first comprehended the *moral* virtues, which differ, in no respect, from those which Aristotle recommended to his disciples. The second contained the theological virtues, which, in consequence of what St. Paul says, 1 *Corinth.* xiii. 13. they made to consist in *faith, hope, and charity*. In explaining and illustrating the nature of the virtues comprehended in these two classes, they seemed rather to have in view the pleasure of disputing than the design of instructing; and they exhausted all their subtilty in resolving difficulties which were of their own creation. Thomas Aquinas shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The second part of his famous *sum* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

xI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings. yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which Christ and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example

An important remark relating to the manner of treating morals in this century.

will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a *pious* and *holy* man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood, to build churches and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a *heretic*, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the pontiffs, or to believe all the absurdities which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. Nicetas Acominatus, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause he undertook to maintain, rather by the decrees of councils, and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason and the authority of scripture. Raymond of Pennafort was one of the first among the Latins, who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument.^d This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages; among whom Raymond Martin, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith*,^e is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. Thomas Aquinas also appeared with dignity among

^d Echard et Quetif in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Prædicator*. tom. i. § xiii. p. 106.

^e Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Martini. Pauli Colomesii *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

the christian champions; and his book against the Gentiles^f is far from being contemptible; nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned work of Alan de l'Isle, which was designed to refute the objections of both Jews and pagans.^g The writers, who handled other more particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. Gregory IX. employed the ministry of the franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and pursued with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232, to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success.^h Innocent IV. embarked in the same undertaking in the year 1247, and sent John of Parma, with other franciscan friars, to Nice for the same purpose; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to Rome, and was declared legate of the *apostolic see*.ⁱ But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect, which could not but excite the hopes of such as longed for the conclusion of these unhappy discords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents arose to blast the influence of these salutary measures, and the flame of dissension recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of Urban IV. the aspect of things changed for the better, and the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For Michael Palæologus had no sooner driven the Latins out of Constantinople, than he sent ambassadors to Rome to declare his pacific intentions, that thus he might establish his disputed dominion, and gain over the Roman pon-

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued.

^f Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptor. pro veritate Relig. Christian.* p. 270

^g *Libra contra Judæos et Paganos.*

^h See Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 279, 296, and Echard. *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 103, 911. Add to these Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 386.

ⁱ See Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 370, 388, 393, 397, 497, 498. Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. and iv. p. 37.

tiff to his side.^k But, during the course of these negotiations, Urban's death left matters unfinished, and suspended once more the hopes and expectations of the public. Under the pontificate of Gregory X. proposals of peace were again made by the same emperor, who, after much opposition from his own clergy, sent ambassadors to the council that was assembled at Lyons in the year 1274,^l and there, with the solemn consent of John Veccus, patriarch of Constantinople, and several Greek bishops, publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff.^m This reunion however was not durable for the situation of affairs in Greece and Italy being changed some years after this convention, and that in such a manner as to deliver the former from all apprehensions of a Latin invasion, Andronicus, the son of Michael, assembled a council at Constantinople in the palace of Blachernæ, A. D. 1284, in which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty was declared entirely null, and the famous Veccus, by whose persuasion and authority it had been concluded, was sent into exile.ⁿ This resolute measure as may well be imagined, rendered the divisions more violent than they had been before the treaty now mentioned; and it was also followed by an open schism, and by the most unhappy discords among the Grecian clergy.

xiv. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind and of inferior moment, which have

The disputes concerning the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist continued.

nothing in their nature or circumstances that deserves the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued in this century, not only in France, but also in several other places.

^k Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 181, 201, 223, 269, 303.

^l See Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343, 371, tom. v. p. 9, 29, 62. *Colonia Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon* tom. ii. p. 284.

^m Joseph, and not Veccus, was patriarch of Constantinople, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himself by a solemn oath never to consent to a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reason the emperor, when he sent his ambassadors to Lyons, proposed to Joseph the following alternative; that if they succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, he should renounce his patriarchal dignity; but if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, advising him, at the same time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambassador succeeded. Joseph was deposed, and Veccus elected in his place; when, and not before, this latter ratified the treaty in question by his solemn consent to the ignominious article of *supremacy* and *pre-eminence*, which it confirmed to the Roman pontiff.

ⁿ Leo Allatus *de perpetua consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. xv. xvi. p. 727. Fred. Spanheim *de perpet. dissensione Græcor. et Latin.* tom. ii. opp. p. 418, &c.

ces. For though Innocent III. had, in the council held at the Lateran in the year 1215, presumptuously taken upon him to place *transubstantiation* among the avowed doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many, and several divines had the courage to maintain the probability of the opinions that were opposed to that monstrous doctrine. Those who, adopting the sentiments of Berenger, considered the bread and wine in no other light, than as signs or symbols of the body and blood of Christ, did not venture either to defend or profess this opinion in a public manner. Many also thought it sufficient to acknowledge, what was termed a *real presence*, though they explained the *manner* of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of Innocent had defined it.^o Among these, John, surnamed Pungens Asinus, a subtile doctor of the university of Paris, acquired an eminent and distinguished name, and without incurring the censure of his superiors, substituted *consubstantiation* in the place of *transubstantiation* toward the conclusion of this century.^p

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were owing partly to the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly to the private injunctions of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the splendour and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions, we shall only observe in general, that religion was now become a sort of a raree show in the hands of the

Rites multiplied.

^o Pet. Allix, *Præf. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, published at London in 8vo in the year 1686.

^p The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned Allix above mentioned. See Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 576. Dacherii *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 68. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 561.

rulers of the church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures, and images, or rather in a kind of mimic show.^a But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragicomical spectacles, though they amused and affected in certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the church of Rome in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape,^c and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread* in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are dishonourable to religion and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed

^a It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects derived its origin from the mendicant friars.

^b This blasphemous language, which Dr. Mosheim is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accommodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the pagans metamorphosed their Jupiter into a *bull*, a *swan*, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the christian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and even were it not vile so useless, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the bishops of Rome could confide so far in the credulity of the people as to risk their authority by propagating such a doctrine.

superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual *festival of the holy sacrament*, or, as it is sometimes called, of the *body of Christ*, whose origin was as follows; a certain devout woman whose name was Juliana, and who lived at Liege, declared that she had received a revelation from heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the *holy sacrament*, or rather of the *real presence* of Christ's body in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd,^s and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by Robert, bishop of Liege, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of Juliana, one of her friends and companions, whose name was Eve, took up her cause with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with Urban IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the christian churches, without exception. This edict however did not produce its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin churches, before the pontificate of Clement V.^t who, in the council held at Vienne in France, in the year 1311, confirmed the edict of Urban, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under Innocent III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

^s This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.

^t See Barthol. Eusen. *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex Viso Sanctæ Virginis Julianæ oblato*, published in 8vo. at Liege, in the year 1619. Dallæus, *De cultus religiosi objecto*, p. 287. *Acta Sanctor. April.* tom. i. p. 437, 903. And above all Benedict. Pont. Max. *de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360, tom. x. opp.

III. About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII.

The year of
jubilee added
to the rites of
the church.

added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299 a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of St. Peter, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service once every hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this than he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit,* say the Roman catholic historians, that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the services abovementioned. No sooner had the pontiff received this information, than he issued out an epistolary mandate, addressed to all christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those who, every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences.^w The successors of Boniface were not

* These testimonies worthy of credit, have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his one hundred and seventh year, and who, being brought before Boniface VIII. declared, if we may believe the Abbe Fleury, that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See Fleury *Hist. Eccles.* toward the end of the twelfth century. It is however a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of Boniface that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman catholic writers to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended that it was of a much earlier date. See Ghilen. and Victorell. apud Bonanni *Numism. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

^w So the matter is related by James Cajetan, cardinal of St. George, and nephew to Boniface, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo anno*, which is published in his *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 426, 440, and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason to believe that this account is erroneous and false, nor that Boniface acted the part of an impostor, from a principle of avarice, upon this occasion.

¶ N. B. It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr. Mosheim deciding in this manner with respect to the good faith of Boniface and the relation of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the relation of the cardinal of St. George has been proved to be the most ridiculous, fabulous, not to say a piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of an historical record. See the excel-

satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but finding by experience that it added to the lustre and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year.*

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. WE have no account of any new sects that arose among the Greeks during this century. Those of the nestorians and jacobites, which were settled in Nestorians
and jacobites.

lent *Lettres de M. Chais sur les Jubiles*, that are mentioned more at large in the following note, tom. i. p. 53.

* The various writers, who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert Fabricius in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, viz. the reverend Charles Chais, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubiles et des Indulgences*, were published at the Hague in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1751.

These letters of Mr. Chais, minister of the French church at the Hague, and well known in the republic of letters, contain the most full and accurate account that has been ever given of the institution of the jubilee, and of the rise, progress, abuses, and enormities of the infamous traffic of indulgences. This account is judiciously collected from the best authors of antiquity, and from several curious records that have escaped the researches of other writers; it is also interspersed with curious, and sometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and instruction. In the first volume of these Letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the institution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its rise to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and superstition of the people, and whose celebration was absolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with respect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontiffs covered it in order to render it respectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and exposes these illusions by many convincing arguments, whose gravity is seasoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmost evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the *secular games*, that were celebrated with such pomp in pagan Rome. He points out the gross contradictions that reign in the *bulls* of the different popes, with respect to the nature of this institution, and the time of its celebration. Nor does he pass over in silence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and splendour, the crimes, debaucheries, and disorders of every kind, that were observable at the return of each jubilee year. He lays also before the reader an historical view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of Boniface VIII. in the year 1300, to that of Benedict XIV. in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to Rome on these occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the *indulgences* that are administered in the church of Rome. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour.

the remoter regions of the east, and who equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of franciscan and dominican missionaries sent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicolas IV. to the nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern parts of Asia.^y The leading men both among the nestorians and jacobites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the church of Rome; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

1. 1 During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*, i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of Rome. For the sects of the *catharists*, *waldenses*, *petrobrussians*, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, viz. "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose declamations against the power,

The contests of the Roman pontiffs with various sects, whom they branded indiscriminately with the name of heretics.

^y Odor. Renaldus, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xiii. *ad A.* 1247, § xxxii. and tom. xv. *ad A.* 1303, § xxii. and *ad A.* 1304, § xxiii. Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 372.

the opulence, and the vices of the pontiffs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs therefore considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror.

III. The number of these dissenters from the church of Rome was no where greater than in Narbonne Gaul,² and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from day to day. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghostly commission were Rainier,² a cistercian monk, Pierre de Castelnau,^b archdeacon of Maguelonne, who became also afterward a cistercian friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, founder of the order of preachers, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without either asking the advice or demanding the succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital punish-

The rise of the
Inquisition in
Narbonne
Gaul.

² That part of France, which, in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of Savoy, Dauphine, Provence, and Languedoc.

^a Instead of Rainier, other historians mention one Raoul, or Ralph, as the associate of Pierre de Castelnau. See Fleury, *Histoire Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. § xii.

^b The greatest part of the Roman writers consider Pierre de Castelnau as the first inquisitor. It will appear hereafter in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, see the *Acta Sanctæ* tom. i. *Martin* p. 411.

ment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *inquisitors*, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal called the *Inquisition* derives its original.

iv. When this new set of heresy hunters^c had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of their enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed *inquisitors* in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people showed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at Thoulouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, and pope legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a *council of inquisitors consisting of one priest and three laymen*. This institution was however superseded in the year 1231 by Gregory IX. who intrusted the dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in France, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishop from the burden of that painful office.^e Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume Arnaud, *inquisitors of heretical pravity at Thoulouse*, and afterward proceeded in every city, where the dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order.^f From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribu-

¶ ^e The term of heresy hunters, for which the translator is responsible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who were sent into the provinces of France to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors who succeeded them were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

^d See Harduini *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

^e Bernhard Guidonis in *Chronico Pontif. MS. ap. Jac. Echardum Scriptor. Prædicatorum* tom. i. p. 88. Percini *Historia Inquisit. Tholosana*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus FF. Prædicator. Tholosana*, 1693, in 8vo. *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. 394, 395.

^f Echard and Percinus *loc. citat.*

nal of the *Inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the dominicans erected, first at Thoulouse, and afterward at Carcassone and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only *heretics* and persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft*, and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of Europe, though not every where with the same success.⁵

v. The method of proceeding in this court of Inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of jus-

g The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the *Inquisition*, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet very different from those that are to be found in most authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* was the invention of St. Dominic, and was first erected by him in the city of Thoulouse; that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by Innocent III. in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorians*, p. 569. Phil. Limborchi *Historia. Inquisit.* lib. i. c. x. p. 39, and the other writers mentioned by Fabricius. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. Limborch, whose *History of the Inquisition* is looked upon as a most important and capital work, is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But however laudable that historian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence, it is certain, that he was but little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in the course of his history, into various mistakes. His account of the origin of the Inquisition is undoubtedly false; nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all foundation. Many of the dominicans, who, in our times have presided in the court of Inquisition, and have extolled the sanctity of that *pious* institution, deny, at the same time, that Dominic was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, nay, that he was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the court of Inquisition was not erected during the life of St. Dominic. Nor is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they allege will easily perceive. Nevertheless, the question, Whether or not St. Dominic was an inquisitor, seems to be merely a dispute about words, and depends entirely upon the different significations of which the term *inquisitor* is susceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, signified a person invested with the commission and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate heresy, and oppose its abettors, but not clothed with any judicial power. But it soon acquired a different meaning, and signified a person appointed by the Roman pontiff to proceed *judicially* against heretics and such as were suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to the secular arm such as persisted obstinately in their errors. In this latter sense Dominic was not an *inquisitor*; since it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of Gregory IX. but he was undoubtedly an *inquisitor* in the original sense that was attached to that term.

tice.^b But this simplicity was gradually changed by the dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognisance of *heretical* causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the proceedings of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the *tribunal of penance*. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of *Inquisition*, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors, against persons that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

vi. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor Frederic II. and Lewis IX. king of France, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against *heretics*, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced *such* by the *inquisitors*, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by Frederic II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the cruelest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the *inquisitors*.ⁱ These abominable laws

^b The records published by the benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371, show the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the Inquisition at its first institution.

ⁱ The law of the emperor Frederic, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limbörch's *History of the Inquisition*, as also in the *epistles* of Pierre de Vignes, and in Bzovius, Raynaldus, &c. The edict of St. Lewis, in favour of these ghostly judges, is generally known under the title of *cupientes*; for so it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378, 375. It is also published by Catellus, in his *Hist. Comit. Tolosan.*

were not however sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad of Marburg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public,^k which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury.^l

VII. When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first *inquisitors* were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus, king of France, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them by the alluring promises of the most ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call heretics, by fire and sword.^m This exhortation was repeated with new accessions of fervour and earnestness, the year following, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in France, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called heretics.ⁿ Not long after this, the cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides; Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred was solemnly excommunicated,

Severer methods are employed against the heretics.

p. 340, and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of Frederic II. For a great part of the *sanctity* of good king Lewis consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to *heretics*, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See Du Fresne, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio scripta*, p. 11, 39.

^k The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts by the learned John Herman Schminkius. See also Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 161, 355, and Echard. *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

¶ ^l The abbe Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and laypersons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxx. § 24.

^m Innocentii III. *Epistolæ*, lib. x. *Epist.* 49.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* lib. xi. *Ep.* 26, 27, 28, 29. *Acta Sanctor. Mart.* tom. i. p. 411.

and to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of crossbearers commenced against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of *albigenses*,^o an open war which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this ghostly war was Arnald, abbot of the cistercians, and legate of the Roman pontiff; and the commander in chief of the troops, employed in this noble expedition, was Simon, earl of Montford. Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of Thoulouse and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the *cause of God* and of *the church*. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of Thoulouse. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

^o The term *albigenses* is used in two senses, of which the one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extensive sense, it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who resided at this time in Narbonne Gaul, i. e. in the southern parts of France. This appears from the following passage of Petrus Sarnensis who, in the *Dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III.* expresses himself thus, "*Tolosani et aliarum civitatum, et castrorum hæretici, et defensores eorum generaliter Albigenses vocantur.*" The same author divides afterward the *albigenses* into various sects, cap. ii. p. 3, and 8, of which he considers that of the *waldenses* as the least pernicious. "*Mali erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longe minus perversi.*" It was not however from the city of Albignia, or Albi, that the French heretics were comprehended under the general title of *albigenses*, but from another circumstance, to wit, that the greatest part of Narbonne Gaul was in this century, called *albigensium*, as the benedictine monks have clearly demonstrated in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552. The term *albigenses*, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined toward the manichæan system, and who were otherwise known by the denomination of *catharists*, *publicans*, or *paucicians*, and *bulgarians*. This appears evidently from many incontestable authorities, and more especially from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by Limborch, in his *History of the Inquisition*, and in which the *albigenses* are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene ; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII. earl of Thoulouse, and Amalric, earl of Montford, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary, and the Roman pontiff Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII. king of France, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the church. The obsequious monarch listened to the solicitations of the lordly pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause of the church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements however with the court of Rome, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor Lewis the *Saint* ; so that Raymond, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a considerable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of Rome.* This treaty of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions that had appeared in its defence ; the *Inquisition* was established at Thoulouse, and the heretics were not only exposed to the *pious* cruelties of Lewis, but what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions, with the most inhu-

The fruitless opposition made by the earl of Thoulouse to the Roman pontiff.

* P It was in consequence of this treaty, of which the articles were drawn up at Meaux, and afterward confirmed at Paris, in presence of Lewis, that the university of Thoulouse was founded, Raymond having bound himself thereby to pay the sum of four thousand silver mares, in order to the support of two professors of divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and six of the liberal arts, during the space of ten years. We must also observe, that what Dr. Mosheim says of the cession that Raymond made of his lands is not sufficiently clear and accurate. These lands were not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be transferred to the brother of Lewis IX. who, according to the treaty, was to espouse the daughter of Raymond. See Fleury. *Hist. Eccles.* liv. lxxix. § 50.

man severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above-mentioned, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of Thoulouse, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.^a

ix. The severity which the court of Rome employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in Italy,

^a Many writers both ancient and modern have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of Thoulouse and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have treated it with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The protestant writers, among whom Basnage deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to Raymond and the *albigenses*; the Roman catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter the most recent are Benedict, a dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Barbetais*, published at Paris, in 1691, in two volumes 12mo. J. Bapt. Langlois, a jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, which was published in 12mo. at Rouen, in 1703, to which we must add, Jo. Jac. Percini, *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis FF. Prædicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensium facti narratio, Tolosæ*, 1693, fol. These writers are chargeable with the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the Raymonds and the albigenses, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of Simon of Montford, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of France to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the heretics is that which is given by the learned benedictines Claude le Vic and Joseph Vaissette, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, tom. iii. in which however there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

France, and Germany, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes. by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we cannot say with any certainty; because we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were issued out upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising faction screened it, in a great measure, from public view. But this was not the case in the following age; the *brethren* and *sisters* above-mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the *inquisitors*, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands; while the councils, held in Germany and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. Paul,^r and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect *freedom* from the jurisdiction of the *law*.^s They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, *beghards* and *beguttes*. which, as we have seen already, was a name usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They received from others, the reproachful denomination of *bicorni*, i. e. idiots. In France, they were known by the appellation of *beghins* and *beghines*, while the multitude distinguished them by that of *turlupins*, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn.^t Nothing carried a more shocking air of lunacy and

^r Romans viii. 2, 14.

^s The accounts we here give of these wretched fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in France and Germany, from the *diplomas* of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and the other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the *nine spiritual rocks*, and which was in the highest esteem among the *free brethren*. who considered it as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine. As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader. I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these *brethren* by Henry I. archbishop of Cologne, and published in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, A 1554, p 58. This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published on the same occasion, at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Paderborn, Beziers, Triers, and other places.

^t Many have written, but none with accuracy and precision, concerning the *turlupins*. See Beausobre's *Dissertation sur les Adamites*, part ii. p. 384, where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word *turlupin*, but I am able to demon-

distraction than their external aspect and manners. They ran from place to place clothed in the most singular and fantastic apparel, and begged their bread with wild shout and clamours, rejecting with horror every kind of industry and labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation, and to the ascent of the soul toward the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were followed by women, with whom they lived in the most intimate familiarity.^a They distributed among the people, books which contained the substance of their doctrine, held nocturnal assemblies in places remote from public view, and seduced many from frequenting the ordinary institutions of divine worship.

x. These *brethren*, who gloried in the *freedom* which they pretended to have obtained, *through the spirit*, from the dominion and obligation of the *law*, adopted a certain rigid and fantastic system of *mystic theology*, built upon pretended philosophical principles, which carried a striking resemblance of the impious doctrines of the *pantheists*. For they held, "That all things flowed *by emanation* from God, and were finally to return to their divine source; that rational souls were so many *portions* of the Supreme Deity, and that the universe, considered as one great whole, was God; that every man, by the power of contemplation, and by calling off his mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might be united to the Deity in an ineffable manner, and become one with the Source and Parent of all things; and that they, who by long and assiduous meditation, had plunged themselves, as it were, into the *abyss* of the Divinity, acquired thereby a most glorious and sublime liberty, and were not only delivered from the violence of sinful lusts, but even from the common instincts of nature." From these and such like doctrines, the *brethren* under consideration drew this impious and horrid conclusion, "That the person who had ascended to God in this manner, and was absorbed by contemplation in the abyss of Deity, became thus a part of the godhead, commenced God, was the *son of God* in the same sense and manner that Christ was, and was

strate by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burnt at Paris and in other parts of France, were no other than the *brethren of the free spirit*, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also by various councils.

^a Hence they were called in Germany, *schweestriener*, as appears by the decrees of several councils.

thereby raised to a glorious independence, and freed from the obligation of all laws human and divine." It was in consequence of all this, that they treated with contempt the ordinances of the gospel, and every external act of religious worship, looking upon prayer, fasting, baptism, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as the first elements of piety adapted to the state and capacity of children, and as of no sort of use to the *perfect man*, whom long meditation had raised above all external things, and carried into the bosom and essence of the Deity."

XI. Among these fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that *liberty of the spirit*, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other external rites and institutions, as infinitely beneath the attention of the *perfect*. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the

Among these heretics there were some that distinguished themselves by their eminent probity, and others that were licentious in an infamous degree.

"It may not be improper to place here a certain number of sentences translated faithfully from several of the more secret books of these heretics. The following will be sufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

"Every pious and good man is the only begotten son of God, whom God engendered from all eternity;" for these heretics maintained, that what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of *three persons* in the divine nature, is by no means to be understood literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of their mystical and fantastical system.

"All created things are nonentities or nothing; I do not say that they are small or minute; but that they are absolutely nothing.

"There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reasoning.

"God is neither good, nor better, nor best; whosoever therefore calls the Deity good, does as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.

"God still engenders his only begotten son, and begets still the same son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his son without any division.

"What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man. And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person, whose piety is genuine and sincere."

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which John, bishop of Strasbourg, in an edict he published against the *brethren of the free spirit*, or *beghards*, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, discovers farther the blasphemous doctrine of this impious sect. "Deus," say these heretics, "est formaliter omne quod est. Quilibet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesie data a Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non sunt vera, et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo juncta perfectis, quam evangelio," &c.

middle of this century they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons in Swabia to *live without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity.*^x The inquisitors however stopped these poor enthusiasts in the midst of their career, and committed several of them to the flames, in which they expired, not only with the most unclouded serenity, but even with the most triumphant feelings of cheerfulness and joy.

But there were among these *brethren of the free spirit*, another class of fanatics very different from these now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whose system of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and absurd, since it opened a door to the most licentious manners. These wretched enthusiasts maintained that, by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature out of the *heaven born* mind, and to introduce into the soul a certain divine stupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments, took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and showed indeed by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies stark naked, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, reunited to the divine nature, its centre and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervour of lust and intemperance.^y

^x See Mart. Crusius, *Annal. Suevicorum*, part iii. lib. ii. cap. xiv. *ad A.* 1261, p. 99, edit. Vet. This author has taken his materials from Felix Faber, an impartial writer.

^y Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle age, separated themselves from the communion of the church

There were moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning, who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds of wickedness, and who audaciously maintained, that the *divine man*, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, *could not sin*, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not indeed explained in the same manner by all the *brethren of the free spirit* that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature; others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions that arose in the soul of the *divine man* after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, seeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation.*

of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the *brethren of the free spirit*, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the *beghards*, though destitute of shame, were not chargeable, generally speaking, with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmness and insensibility of heart, which rendered them proof against female charms, and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest Nieder, *Formicar.* lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346, and affirmed, that it was in the power of that evil spirit to *render men cold*, and to extinguish the warm and lascivious solicitations of nature; and that satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of sanctity, and make them appear superior in virtue to the rest of mankind. "Credo," saith Nieder, who was both a dominican and an inquisitor, "quosdam ex eis dæmonis opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . Facillimum enim est dæmonibus infrigidare."

* This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous hook of the *Nine Rocks*, written originally in German; "Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal world. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will conformable to the will of God, that so whatsoever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him also. If therefore it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not even to wish that he had not committed them; nay, he should rather die a thousand deaths than omit one of these mortal sins." Hence the accusation brought by the inquisitors against this impious sect, whom they reproach with maintaining that the "sin of a man united to God, is not sin, since God works in him and with him whatever he does." Henry Suso, a dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated mystic writers, composed, in the following century, another book concerning the *Nine Rocks*, which is to be found in the edition of his works published by

It is necessary to observe, before we leave this subject, that flagitious and impious impostors mingled themselves sometimes with this sect, and took the name of *beghards* that by a feigned piety they might impose upon the multitude, and deceive the simple into their snares.^a

XII. The famous Amalric, native of Bene, and professor of logic and theology at Paris, whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, although he had abjured his errors, before his death, and a considerable number of whose disciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was undoubtedly of the same way of thinking with the sect whose opinions we have been now considering.^b For though the writers of this barba-

Laurent. Surius. But this book is entirely different from that which was in such high esteem among the *beghards*, though it bears the same title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in Germany, among the *brethren of the free spirit*, long before Suso was born. There fell some time ago into my hands an ancient manuscript, composed in Alsace, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various *revelations and visions of that age*. In this manuscript I found a piece entitled *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam super revelatione Carthusiano cuidam de Ecclesiæ per gladium reformatione, Leodii, A. 1453, facta*; and almost in the beginning of this declaration the following passage relating to the *book of the Nine Rocks*; "Homo quidam devotissimus, licet Laiens, Librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesiæ rennovatione et prævia gravi persecutione." These *Nine Rocks* signified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrongheaded sect, the different steps by which the divine man ascended to the Deity.

a The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin, and the precise date of its first appearance, are not known with any degree of certainty. I have actually in my possession "Eighty-Nine Sentences of the *beghards*, vulgarly called *schwestrones*, but who style themselves *brethren of the sect of the free spirit* and of voluntary poverty, with a Refutation of the said Sentences," written at Worms toward the conclusion of this century by some one or other of the inquisitors. The seventy-ninth of these sentences runs thus; "To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said, that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere." From these words it appears evident, that Rhetia was the place where the church of the *brethren of the free spirit* was fixed and established, and that from this province they passed into Germany. I am not however of opinion, that this sect had its first rise in that province; but am rather inclined to think, that Italy was its country, and that being driven from thence, it took refuge in Rhetia. Nor is it at all improbable, that Italy, which saw so many religious factions arise in its bosom, was also the nursing-mother of this blasphemous sect. We shall be almost fully confirmed in this opinion when we consider that, in a long letter from Clement V. to Rainier, bishop of Cronona, published by Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal.* tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66, p. 90, the zealous pontiff exhorts that prelate to suppress and extirpate, with all his might, the sect of the *brethren of the free spirit*, which was settled in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto and the countries adjacent. Such are the terms of the pontiff's letter; "in nonnullis Italiæ partibus, tam Spoletanæ provinciæ, quam circumjacentium regionum."

b This did not escape the notice of the enemies of the *beghards*, or *brethren of the free spirit*, in Germany, much less that of the *inquisitors*, who, in their *Refutation of the Eighty-Nine Sentences of the begbards* mentioned in the preceding note, express themselves thus; *Sententia* 68. "Dicere quod omnis creatura est Deus, hæresis Alexandri est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et Hominem, hoc est mentes, esse in-

^a The person here mentioned is Alexander, the epicurean, of whom Plutarch speaks in his *Symposium*.

rous age have given very different and confused accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed some doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheless certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one substance, or in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the *forms* of all things, but also their *matter* or substance, proceeded from the Deity, and must return to the source from whence they were derived.^c From these absurd and blasphemous principles he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. One of the most eminent among these was David of Dinant, a Parisian doctor, who usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition; *God is the primary matter or substance of all things*. He composed a work entitled *Quaternarii*, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude; but after all, was obliged to save himself by flight.^d The bishops, assembled in council at Paris

substantia, quod postea quidam David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac hæresi de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehensus fuisset."

¶ ^c The account given by Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, of the opinions of Amalric, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. Mosheim. The former observes that Amalric, or Amauri, taught that "every christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that without this belief none could be saved," and he observes also, that his disciples introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the following; That the *power* of the *Father* had continued only during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the *Son* twelve hundred years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth century, the *age of the Holy Spirit* commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that there would be no resurrection; that heaven and hell were mere fictions;" and many more sentiments of that nature, which, as the learned Spanheim * imagines, were falsely imputed to Amalric, in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. § lix. Dr. Mosheim looks upon Amalric to have been a pantheist, and many men of eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others Joh. Gerson apud Jac. Thomasium, and also Brucker's *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 688.

^d See Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom iv p. 163. where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burnt at Paris in the year 1209. Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. Sæc.* xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76. Du Bois, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 244. Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 24, 48, 53. Jac. Thomasius, *De Exultione mundi Stoica*, p. 199.

* See Spanheim's *Hist. Eccles. Sæc.* xxii p. 1391

in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of Aristotle as the source of all these impious doctrines, and on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical, and other productions of the Grecian sage.*

xiii. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, Amalric and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the predictions, attributed to Joachim, abbot of Flora, concerning the reformation that was soon to be brought about in the church by the power of the sword; the approaching *age of the Holy Ghost* that was to succeed those of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raised the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the *spiritual* franciscans. Whether these accounts may be depended upon or not, we shall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is however true, that certain persons were so far deluded by these pretended prophecies, as to form new sects with a view to their accomplishment, and to declare war against the established church, its system of doctrine, and its forms of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of a most extraordinary kind, a Bohemian woman named Wilhelmina, who resided in the territory of Milan. This delirious and wrongheaded woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the *age of the Holy Ghost*, was extravagant enough to persuade herself, and what is still more amazing, had influence enough to persuade others, that the Holy Ghost was become *incarnate* in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were saved by the blood of Jesus, but true and pious christians; while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit, which dwelt in her, and that, in consequence thereof, all that had happened to Christ, during his appearance upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly renewed in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her." This mad woman died at Milan in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multi-

Joachim, Wilhelm.
helmina.

* Launsius, *De varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Paris.* p. 127.

tude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in public and in private. Her sect, nevertheless, was discovered by the curious eye of persecution in the year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the inquisitors, who destroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected in her honour, had her bones raised and committed to the flames, and in the same fire consumed the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which there were persons of both sexes.^f

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those mentioned in the preceding section, that *the sect of the apostles* founded its discipline. The sect called apostles. The members of this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what they principally aimed at, was, to introduce among christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that was observed by the apostles. Gerhard Sagarelli, the founder of this sect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apostles did, to wander about clothed in white, with long beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women, whom they called their *sisters*. They were also obliged to renounce all kinds of property and possessions, and to preach in public the necessity of repentance, while in their more private assemblies they declared the approaching destruction of the corrupt church of Rome, and the establishment of a purer service, and a more glorious church, that according to the prophecies of the abbot Joachim, was to arise from its ruins. No sooner was the unhappy leader of this faction committed to the flames,^g than he was succeeded in that character by a bold and enterprising fanatic, named Dulcinus, a native of Novara, who published his predictions with more courage, and maintained them with more zeal, than his predecessor had done, and who did not hesitate to declare that, in a short time, the Roman pontiff, Boniface VIII. with the corrupt priests and the licentious monks, were to

^f The Milanese historians, such as Bernard, Corius, and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but their accounts are very different from those given by the learned Muratori, in his *Antiq. Italica mediæ ævi*, tom v. p. 91, and which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court, where the extraordinary case of this female fanatic was examined. We are informed by the same excellent author, that a learned writer, named Puricelli, composed a history of Wilhelmina, and of her sect.

^g This unhappy man was burnt alive at Parma, in the year 1300.

perish by the hand of the emperor Frederic III. son of Peter, king of Arragon, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot Joachim, who is said to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called Frederic III. was to bring to perfection what Frederic II. had left unfinished. Be that as it may, Dulcinus appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the *apostles*; and acting, not only in the character of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army, to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by Raynerius, bishop of Vercelli, who defended the interests of the Roman pontiff, and carried on, during the space of two years and more, a most bloody and dreadful war against this chief of the apostles. The issue of this contest was fatal to the latter, who, after several battles, fought with obstinate courage, was at length taken prisoner, and put to death at Vercelli in the most barbarous manner in the year 1307, together with Margaret, whom he had chosen for his *spiritual sister*, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of Dulcinus was not immediately followed by the downfall of his sect, which still subsisted in France, Germany, and in other countries, and stood firm against the most vehement efforts of its enemies until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when, under the pontificate of Boniface IX. it was totally extirpated.^b

xv. This famous Joachim, abbot of Flora, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well meaning people, and excited them to attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim.

^b I composed in the German language an accurate history, in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in Germany, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of Boniface IX. is evident from the *Chronicle* of Herman Cornerus, published by Jo. George Echard, in his *Corpus Historicum mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906, and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolical sect, whose name was William, or Wilhelmus, was burnt alive at Lubeek. See Cornerus, *loc. cit.* p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of *beghards* all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and sought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of the *apostles*. —

under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly Peter Lombard, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the *divine essence*, and the *three persons* in the godhead; for Joachim looked upon this doctrine as introducing a *fourth* object, even an *essence* into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters, to carry on a controversy of such a subtle nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any *essence*, that belonged in common to the three persons in the Trinity, or was jointly possessed by them; by which doctrine the *substantial* union between the three persons was taken away, and the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was reduced from a *natural, simple, and numerical* unity, to a *moral* one only; that is, to such a unity as reigns in the councils and opinions of different persons, who embrace the same notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the arian system; and therefore the Roman pontiff, Innocent III. pronounced, in the year 1215, in the council of the Lateran, a damnatory sentence against the doctrine of Joachim, which sentence however did not extend to the person or fame of the abbot himself. And indeed, notwithstanding this papal sentence, Joachim has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those of the franciscans, who are called *observants*. Some of these maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies, while the rest are of opinion that his doctrine was not thoroughly understood by those that opposed it.ⁱ

ⁱ See Dan. Papebrochius, *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi*, in *Actis Sanctorum, Maii*, tom. vi. p. 486, which contains *The Life of Joachim*, and several other pieces of consequence. See also Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331.* Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 6.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the west, set on by the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in Palestine against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of Syria from the oppressive yoke of these despotic infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided at Avignon were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemployed, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to the holy land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on with alacrity and vigour.^a John XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine,^b and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences*, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprise. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all

Fruitless attempts to renew the crusades.

^a Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15, 594, tom. ii. p. 55, 57, 374, 391, &c. Ant. Matthæi *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

^b Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125, tom. ii. p. 515.

the countries in Europe that were subject to this ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair show of piety and zeal, John is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find Lewis of Bavaria, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition;^c and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of France, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the christians in Palestine;^d but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from England, obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprise. In the year 1345, Clement V. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command of Guido, or Guy, dauphin of Vienne; but the want of provisions obliged this army to return with their general into Europe in a short time after their departure. This disappointment did not however damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V. and was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standards.^f

11. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into China, Tartary, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, Clement V. erected Cambalu, which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of Cathay, and is undoubtedly the same with

The state of
Christianity in
China and
Tartary.

^c Baluzius, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175, 786. Matthæi *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595, 598.

^d Baluzius, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 200.

^e *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

^f Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 366, 386, 371, 401.

Pekin, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire, into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon John de Monte Corvino, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours, seven other bishops of the franciscan order.* John XXII. exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of John de Monte Corvino, in the year 1330, he sent Nicolas of Bentra to fill the vacant archbishopric of Cambalu, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who at that time was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, Benedict XII. sent new legates and missionaries into Tartary and China, in consequence of a solemn embassy^h with which he was honoured at Avignon from the khan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of China, the christian religion flourished in these vast regions, and both Latins and nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it without any apprehension of danger, throughout the northern provinces of Asia.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we except Jagello, duke of Lithuania, who continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the christian faith, received in baptism the name of Vladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied at least with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, which happened in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors who aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the

Conversion of
the lithuani
ans.

* Waddingus, *Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. ad A. 1305, § xii. p. 69, ad A. 1307, p. 91, 368, tom. vii. p. 53, 221, tom. viii. p. 235. J. S. Assemanii *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*. tom. iii. § ii. p. 521. J. Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984. Moshemii *Historia Eccles. Tartar.*

^h Baluzii *Vitæ Pontificum Avinionensium*, tom. i. p. 242.

Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a pagan, and hence Jagello was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty.ⁱ On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were yet to be found in Prussia and Livonia, and effected by force what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many instances of Jews converted to the christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of Europe, particularly in France and Germany, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports, whether false or true, we shall not determine, that had been industriously spread abroad of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning in the most impious and blasphemous manner the consecrated wafers that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous, excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible sufferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

iv. The Saracens maintained as yet a considerable footing in Spain. The kingdoms of Granada and Murcia, with the province of Andalusia, were subject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, in which however they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of Morocco, became their auxiliaries against the christians. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemployed to excite the christians to unite their forces against the mahometans, and to drive them out of

Many of the Jews become christians through compulsion.

ⁱ Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad A.* 1386, § iv. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71. Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241.

the Spanish territories; presents, exhortations, promises, in short, every allurements that religion, superstition, or avarice could render powerful, were made use of in order to the execution of this arduous project. The christians accordingly united their counsels and efforts for this end; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprise rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions.^k

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE Turks and Tartars who extended their dominions in Asia, with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms against the Greeks as well as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went, the fruits that had sprung up in such a rich abundance from the labours of the christian missionaries, extirpated the religion of Jesus in several provinces and cities where it flourished, and substituted the impostures of Mahomet in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the alcoran. Timur Beg, commonly called Tamerlane, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of Mahomet, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general.^l This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part

The christian religion loses ground in Asia.

^k See Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iv. v. vii. *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319, in which however there is a considerable mixture of truth and falsehood. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 267.

^l This great Tamerlane, whose name seemed to strike terror, even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the *sonnites*, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the *schiiites*. See Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151, tom. iii. p. 228. It is however extremely doubtful, what was in reality the religion of Tamerlane, though he professed the mahometan faith. See Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 121.

of Asia, having triumphed over Bajazet, the emperor of the Turks, and even filled Europe with terror at the approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of Christ with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of Mahomet, to persecute the christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the mahometan faith;^m he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery.ⁿ

II. In those parts of Asia, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is at least certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries, later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from Rome. We have indeed some records, from which it would appear that there were nestorians residing in China so far down as the sixteenth century;^o but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity, in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of Genghizkan was driven out of China, and his throne filled by the Mim family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into China.

^m Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329, tom. iii. p. 137, 243, &c.

ⁿ Many instances of this we find in a *History of Timur Bec*, wrote by a Persian, who was named Scherfedinus, tom. ii. p. 376, 384, 386, tom. iii. p. 243, tom. iv. p. 111, 116, 117, and published at Delft, in four volumes, 8vo. in the year 1723. See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article Timur, p. 877.

^o Nicol. Trigautius, *De Christiana expeditione apud Smas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116. Jos. Sim. Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part i. p. 592, and part ii. p. 445, 536. Halde, *Description de la China*, tom. i. p. 175.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign and intestine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their attention and zeal from the cause of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class was Nicephorus Gregoras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Maximus Planudes, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, Theodorus Metochila, John Cantacuzenus, and Nicephorus Gregoras, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence Nicephorus Callistus, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

The state of
letters among
the Greeks.

II. As none of the sages of this century was adventurous enough to set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches, adhered to Aristotle as their conductor and guide; but we may learn from the tracts of Theodorus Metochita in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. Plato also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics and astronomy, Nicolas Cabasilas surpassed all his contemporaries. Barlaam adopted the sentiments and precepts of the stoics with respect to the obligations of

The state of
philosophy a-
mong the
Greeks.

morality and the duties of life, and digested them into a work of his, which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis*.^q

III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were laid and carried into execution with considerable success, for promoting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispelling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perusia, Florence, and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular *colleges* in the public universities, in which, beside the *monks*, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be confessed indeed, that the advantages arising to the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expense and care bestowed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune; yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age who rose gradually from the lower to the higher and more honourable stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and ignorance.

IV. Clement V. who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other oriental languages, to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and mahometans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east;^r in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficient in these tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon Homer, and a few others,^s but afterward,

The state of learning among the Latins.

The state of languages.

^q Henrici Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

^r See Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156, 157.

^s See Humph. Hody, *De Græcis illustribus Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5, Londini, 1742, in 8vo. Calogera, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xiv. p. 258.

with far greater success and reputation, by Manuel Chrysoloras,^t a native of Constantinople. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly renowned Petrarch held the first place,^u and Dante Alighieri, the second. Full of this worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

v. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, Of the other sciences. of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial account; but as it is quite foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers, that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the *civil* and *canon* law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entire strangers to the fame of Bartolus, Baldus, Andreas, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of Italy. But after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurement that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Dr. Thomas Bradwardine, the acute and learned archbishop of Canterbury, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

vi. The vast number of philosophers, who rather dis-

^t Hody, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10. Angeli Calogerae *loc. cit.* p. 248. And more especially Christ. Frid. Borneri *Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*.

^u See Jac. Phil. Thomasini *vita Petrarchi* in Jo. Gerb. Meuschen *Vitæ claror. viror* tom. iv. who in his preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet Dante, several have treated, particularly his translator Benevenuto of Imola, from whence Muratorius has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. s.

Of philosophy. graced than adorned this century, looked upon Aristotle as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stript him of all those excellences that really belonged to him, and were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was Charles V. king of France, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of Aristotle, to be translated into French by Nicholas Oresme.* Those however who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the whole strength of their art consisted; as also on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning in which they foolishly gloried. Those who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult John Scotus, or Walter Bulæus. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

VII. The old disputes between the *realists* and *nominalists*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardour, by an English franciscan friar of the severer order, named William Occam, who was a follower of the great Scotus, and a doctor of divinity at Paris. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of Luther, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and to listen to terms of accommodation. The *realists* despised

* The realists and nominalists.

w Jo. Launoïus, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. pars i. p. 504. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 379. Le Boeuf, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile, Par.* tom. iii. p. 456, 463, s.

their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of *moderns*, while, through a great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The *nominalists*, on the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of doating visionaries, who, despising substantial matters, were pursuing mere shadows. The *nominalists* had the most eloquent, acute, and subtile doctors of Paris for their leaders, among whom, beside Occam, the famous John Buridan^x was very eminent; nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the *realists* prevailed. For when Occam joined the party of the franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed John XXII. that pope himself, and his successors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the *nominalists*, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church;^y and hence it was, that in the year 1339, the university of Paris, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of Occam, which was that of the *nominalists*.^z But as it is natural for men to love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence was, that the party of the *nominalists* flourished more than ever.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, i. e. the art of telling fortunes by the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars; and notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people, from the highest down to the lowest, were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to Ceccus Asculanus, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope John XXII. and afterward to Charles Sineterra, duke of Calabria. This

Astrology
mingles itself
with the phi-
losophy of the
times, and is
considered as
magic.

^x Rob. Guaguinus wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from Jo. Launoïus, in his *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part i. p. 722, see also p. 296, 297, 330, and Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 282, 307, 341, &c.

^y Steph. Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

^z Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 257, tom. v. p. 708. Car. Pless. d'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, &c. see Mosheimi.

unhappy man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at Florence, in the year 1337.^a There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the *Sphere of John de Sacrobosco*, otherwise named *Holywood*, which shows its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition.^b

ix. Raymund Lully was the author of a new and very singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of Majorca, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at Bugia, in Africa, in the year 1315, by the mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert. The franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him; while many on the contrary, and especially the dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a hairbrained chymist, a hotheaded fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of Lully without prejudice, will not be biassed by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment.^c

^a Paul Anton. Appianus wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in Domen. Bernini *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sec. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210, s. We have also a further account of him in Jo. Maria Crescimbenus, *Commentari della volgar. Poesia*, vol. ii. part ii. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

^b Gabr. Naudæus, *Apologie pour les grands hommes qui ont été soupçonnez de Magic*, p. 270, s.

^c See John Salzinger's preface to Raymund Lully's Works, which John William, elector Palatine, caused to be collected at a great expense, and to be published, in 1720, in five folio volumes. Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421, tom. v. p. 157, 316, tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of Lully, see Dan. Georg. Morhofius, *Polyhystoire*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352, s.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE governors of the church in this period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian and oriental clergy, who lived, for the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well being of civil society. It is however necessary to observe, that there were, even in these degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*, as they used to express themselves.^d Laudable as these desires undoubtedly were, many circumstances concurred to prevent their accomplishment; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immoveable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weakened, partly by the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between Boniface VIII. who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it

The corrupt
state of the
clergy.

Philip king of
France oppos-
es the papal
tyranny.

^d Matt. Flacius, *Catalogo testium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. Launoius, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Historia Eccles. Sæc. xiv.* p. 754.

without success. Boniface sent Philip the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of France, with all other kings and princes whatsoever, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and in that famous *bull*, *unam sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power to his church, or in other words, *the spiritual and temporal sword*; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation.^e The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer,^f to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *heresies*, *simony*, and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

iii. Philip, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this, he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined to hold the abovementioned council. Nogaret, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized Boniface, who lived in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had got him

The event of
this warm con-
test.

^e This *bull* is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. De majoritate et obedientia.*

^f Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther, none have given us a fuller account than the benedictine monks, *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114, 117, s. Philip made him chancellor of France for his resolute opposition against the pope.

into his power, treated him in the most shocking manner, carried his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him.⁵

iv. Benedict XI. who succeeded him, and whose name before his accession to the papal chair was Nicolas Boccacini, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of France and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret of his treason against the ghostly majesty of the pontificate. Nogaret, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against Boniface; and in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting, Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which Philip, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and as Nogaret was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Beside, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of Boniface by the court of Rome, the abolition of the order of *templars*, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary to the execution of his designs. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement

The papal
residence re-
moved to Av-
ignon.

⁵ See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Bened. XI. Clement V. et Philippum Pulchrum*, published, A. D. 1614, by Peter Puteanus. Adr. Baillet, *Hist. de Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe de Bel*, printed at Paris, in 4to. in 1718. Jo. Rubeus, in *Bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137. The other writers on this subject are mentioned by Baillet, in his preface, p. 9. See also Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 4.

V. and at the king's request, remained in France, and removed the papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity.^b

v. There is no doubt, but that the continued residence of the popes in France greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontiffs from Rome, the faction of the *gibellines*, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater height than ever; insomuch, that they not only invaded and ravaged *St. Peter's patrimony*, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes; even Rome itself was the grand source and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch that the laws and decrees sent thither from France were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles.ⁱ The influence of this example was propagated from Italy through most parts of Europe; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as they did to those of Rome. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

vi. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose they not only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several potentates, but also disposed publicly of scandalous licenses, of all sorts, at an excessive price. John XXII. was remarkably shrewd and

ⁱNew schemes invented by the popes to acquire riches.

^b For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avinionensium*, published at Paris in two volumes 4to. in the year 1693. The reader may also peruse, but it must be with the utmost caution, Longueval's *History of the Gallican Church*, and those who continued that work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This jesuit, and his successors, have shown great industry and cloquence in the composition of this history; but they, for the most part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontiffs.

ⁱ See Baluzii *Pontif. Avinion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291, 301, 309, 323, and many other places. Muratorii *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397, 401, 409, &c. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 280.

zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical chancery*, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the holy treasury.^k It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of *annates*, and which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a much earlier date.^l Beside the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or smaller, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government that *reserves, provisions, expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all Europe with bitter complaints.^m These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly John XXII. Clement VI. and Gregory X. openly declared that they had *reserved* to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and *plenitude of power* which Christ had conferred upon them, his vicars, to *provide* for them, and dispose of them without exception.ⁿ It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of Boniface.

VII. Clement V. was a mere creature of Philip the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. William de Nogaret, the implacable enemy of Boniface VIII.

The obsequiousness of Clement V. to Philip.

^k Jo. Ciampinus *De vicecancellario ecclesiæ Rom.* p. 39. Car. Chais, *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, tom. ii. p. 673, and others.

^l Bernh. van Espen, *Jus Eccles. universale*, tom. ii. p. 876. Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213. Guil. Franc. Berthier, *Diss. sur les Annates*, tom. xii. *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic.* p. 1.

^m Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iii. p. 479, 518. *Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60, 63, 65, 74, 154, 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. append. p. 13. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.

ⁿ Baluzii *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873, tom. i. p. 285, 311, 681, s. Ant. Matthæi *Analecta. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 249, s. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69, 1208. *Histoire du droit Eccles. François*, tom. iii. p. 129, s.

notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against Boniface, even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. Philip insisted, that the dead body of Boniface should be dug up and publicly burnt; but Clement averted this infamy by his advice and entreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by Boniface, to grant the king a bounty of five years' tithes, fully to absolve Nogaret of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance, which however he never performed, to restore the citizens of Anagni to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at Vienna, in the year 1311, in order to condemn the templars, on whose destruction Philip was most ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For Clement, terrified by the melancholy fate of Boniface, durst not venture to oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch.^o

viii. Upon Clement's death, which happened in the year 1314, many fierce contentions arose in the ^{John XXII. Nicolas V.} conclave about choosing a successor, the French cardinals, insisting upon a French, and those of Italy demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and in the year 1316, elected James de Euse, a native of Cahors, and cardinal bishop of Porto. He assumed the name of John XXII. and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by those writers, who, in other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly censured on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through his own imprudence, in many of his enterprises; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against Lewis of Bavaria. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of Germany, with Frederic, duke of Austria; and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the

^o Beside the common writers already cited, see Guil. Franc. Berthierii, *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement V.* tom. iii. *Historiæ Eccles. Gallic.* Colonia. *Hist. Litter. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedict.* tom. i. p. 1189, and tom. ii. p. 829.

year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. John took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his ghostly jurisdiction. But in the year 1322, the duke of Bavaria having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. John interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority; and by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But this impotent resentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor; who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by Lewis, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at Rome, by which John was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies, Peter de Corbieri, a franciscan monk, who assumed the name of Nicolas V. and crowned the emperor at Rome in a solemn and public manner. But in the year 1330, this *imperial* pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of St. Peter, and surrendered himself to John, who kept him in close confinement at Avignon for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of Bavaria and John XXII. who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities.^p

^p The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learned from the *Records* published by Steph. Baluz. in his *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512, s. Edm. Martene. *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641, s. Jo. Georg Herwart, in *Ludovico Imperatore defensor contra Bzovium*, Monachii, 1618, in 4to. et Christ. Gewald. in *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro*, Ingolstadt 1618, in 4to. against the same Bzovius, who, in the *Annals* he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor. See also Luc Waddingus in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77, 106. s. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this war, will perceive that Lewis of Bavaria followed the example of Philip the Fair, king of France. As Philip brought an accusation of heresy against Boniface, so did Lewis with respect to John XXII. The French monarch made use of Nogaret and other accusers against the one pontiff. Lewis employed Occam and the franciscans in that quality against the other. Each of them insisted upon the assembling a general council, and upon the deposition of the pontiffs who had incurred their displeasure. I omit other circumstances that might be alleged to render the parallel more striking.

IX. The numerous tribes of the *fratricelli*, *beghards*, and *spiritual franciscans*, adhered to the party of Lewis. Supported by his patronage, and dispersed throughout the greatest part of Europe, they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations and the bitterest invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary conversation. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by private persons, by a set of obscure monks, who, in many respects, were unworthy of his notice; but toward the conclusion of his life, he incurred the disapprobation and censures of almost the whole catholic church. For in the year 1331 and 1332, having asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their remission with the body at the last day. This doctrine highly offended Philip VI. king of France, was opposed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unanimously condemned by the divines of Paris, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterward, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he in some measure softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit*.⁴ This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, Benedict XII. after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state

⁴ See Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion* tom. i. p. 175, 177, 182, 197, 221, 786, &c. Luc. Dacherii *Spicil. Scriptor. Vcter.* tom. i. p. 760, ed. Vet. Jo. Launoi *Historie Gymnas. Navarreni*, part i. cap. vii. p. 319, tom. iv. part i. opp. Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris* tom. iv. p. 235, 250. Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371, tom. vii. p. 145. Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599, 608.

did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature.^r Benedict's publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of John; for when the latter lay upon his deathbed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease.^s

x. John dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals about the election of a pope; but toward Benedict XII. the end of the year, they chose James Fournier, a Frenchman, and cardinal of St. Prisca, who took the name of Benedict XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his predecessors.^c He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor Lewis; and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of France, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting a yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we overlook his superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

xi. He was succeeded by a man of a quite different disposition, Clement VI. a native of France, whose name was Peter Roger, and who was cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilles, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the most unexceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only observe that he trod faithfully in the steps of John XXII. in *providing* for vacant churches and bishoprics, by *reserving* to himself

^r Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197, 216, 221, 224, 226.

^s All this pope's heretical fancies about the *beatific vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, viz five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in specie, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy, during his pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. § xxxix.

^c See the *Fragmenta Histor. Roman.* in Muratorii *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 275. Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 295, 218, 240, &c. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 253.

the disposal of them, which showed his sordid and insatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of England and France; and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between Lewis of Bavaria and the Roman see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect Henry VII. son to Charles IV. emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in Germany, had it not been prevented by the death of Lewis, in the year 1347. Clement did not long survive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added Avignon, which he purchased of Joan, queen of Naples, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*.

XII. His successor, Innocent VI. whose name was Stephen Albert, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election, had been bishop of Ostia. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was, that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects, he was a man of merit, and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from *reserving churches*, and by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by William Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, who took the name of Urban V. and was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the Romans, returned to Rome, in the year 1367, but in 1370, he came back to Avignon, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of England and France, and died there the same year.

Innocent VI.
Urban V.

xiii. He was succeeded by Peter Roger, a French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed the name of Gregory XI. a man who, though inferior Gregory XI. to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and assurance. In his time, Italy in general, and the city of Rome in particular, was distressed with most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state.^a Upon which Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of Italy, and also of recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from *St. Peter's patrimony*, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one Catharine, a virgin of Sens, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with the spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to Avignon on purpose to persuade him to take this step.^b It was not however long before Gregory repented that he had followed her advice; for by the long absence of the popes from Italy, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to Avignon; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

xiv. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Bari, and assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter

A great schism
arises in the
Romish
church.

^a See chiefly, *Coluzii Salutali Epistolæ*, written in the name of the Florentines, part i. p. 47—100, 148, 162. See also *Præfat.* ad part ii. p. 18, the new Florentine edition, by Laur. Mehus.

^b See Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 159, 192.

therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and from thence to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the pontificate Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time, that the election of Urban was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform. in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the *records* and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty.* Urban remained at Rome; Clement went to Avignon in France. His cause was espoused by France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban to be the true vicar of Christ.

xv. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head ^{its bad consequences.} was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism*.† This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time: each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the

* See the acts and documents in Cæs. Egass. de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463, s. Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12, s. Steph. Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 412. 998, s. *Acta Sanctorum* tom. i. April. p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

† An account of this dissension may be seen in Pierre du Puy, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a ele en l'Eglise depuis l'An. 1378, jusqu'en l'An. 1428*, which, as we are informed in the *preface*, was compiled from the royal records of France, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject Lewis Maimbourg's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in Edm. Martene, *Thesauri Anecdotorum* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, and Du Pin.

reigning popes was the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency; and in consequence of all this, many plain, well meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind.² Nevertheless these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for by these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes, on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained, and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

xvi. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of Urban VI. upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, set up for his successor at Rome, Peter Thomacelli, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Boniface IX. and Clement VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. During these transactions, various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then styled, the *method of cession*; but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at Paris in the year 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs; and upon the publication of this resolution, in the year 1398,

Proposals for
abolishing the
schism.

² Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a large account in the *Histoire du droit public Eccles. Francois*, tom. ii. p. 166, 193, 202, s.

Benedict XIII. was, by the express orders of Charles VI. detained prisoner in his palace at Avignon.²

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially Benedict XII. were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify and remove; but the disorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The *mendicants*, and more especially the *dominicans* and *franciscans*, were at the head of the monastic orders, and were indeed become the heads of the church; so extensive was the influence they had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of Rome, and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their supreme and absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of these *sturdy beggars*, and of their credit with the Supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the *mendicant* order, which they looked upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part of their last wills, that their carcasses, after death, should be wrapped in old, ragged dominican or franciscan habits, and interred among the mendicants. For such was the barbarous superstition and wretched ignorance of this age, that people universally believed they should readily obtain mercy from Christ, at the day of judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal associated with the mendicant friars.

XVIII. The high esteem in which the mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in Europe, in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the dominicans and franciscans, who employed the power and

^a Beside the common historians, and Longueval's *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. see the *acts* of this council in Boulay's *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 829.

authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the dominicans,^b while Richard, archbishop of Armagh, Henry Crump, Noris, and others, attacked all the mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity.^c But Richard, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died.^d They had also many opponents in France, who, together with the university of Paris, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power; but John de Polliac set himself openly against them, publicly denying the validity of the absolution granted by the dominicans and franciscans to those who confessed to them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled from granting them a power of absolution by the authority of the *canon*, entitled, *Omnis utriusque sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to confess their sins to their own parish priests, even though they had been absolved by the monks. They suffered little or nothing however from the efforts of these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition, whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their best friends and most effectual supports. Accordingly, John XXII. by an extraordinary decree condemned the opinions of John de Polliac, in the year 1321.^e

^b See Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150, 154, 196, &c.

^c See Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182, tom. ii. p. 61, 62. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338, 950. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

^d See Simon, *Lettres Choisiées*, tom. i. p. 164. I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of Bartholomew de Brisac, entitled, *Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus factis, Anno 1360.*

^e See Jo. Launoïus, *De Canone; Omnis utriusque sexus*, tom. i. part i. opp. p. 271, 274, 287, &c. Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10, and *Miscellanor.* tom. i. p. 163. Dacherii *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112, s. It was published by Edm. Martene, in *Thesouro Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368. See also Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132, 182, &c.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the mendicant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterward rector of Lutterworth; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, he first of all defended the statutes and privileges of the university of Oxford against all the orders of the mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury Hall, in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to pope Urban V. who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and detecting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal. Though neither the doctrine of Wickliff was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed, that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary.^f

xx. The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. who, in the year

^f A work of his was published at Leipsic and Francfort, in 4to. in the year 1753, entitled, *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet shows sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognisance of the affair in the council held at London. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by the interest of the duke of Lancaster, and some other peers, who had a high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courteney, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that of the *twenty three* opinions, for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, *ten* were condemned as heresies, and *thirteen* as errors.^g He himself however returned in safety to Lut-terworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or ab-juring his opinions, is to this day a secret.^h He left many followers in England, and other countries, who were styled *wickliffites* and *lollards*, which last was a term of popular re-proach translated from the Flemish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly perse-cuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and in the council of Constance, in the year

^g In the original Dr. Mosheim says, that of eighteen articles imputed to Wickliff, nine were condemned as *heresies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by William Wodford, in a letter to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor Courteney at London, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* Orthuini Gratii, published first at Cologne, by the compiler in the year 1535, and afterward at London in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. Edward Brown. The letter of Wodford is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

^h We have a full and complete *History of the Life and sufferings of John Wickliff*, published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1720, by Mr. John Lewes, who also published, in the year 1731, Wickliff's English translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin version, called the *Vulgate*. This translation is enriched with a learned *preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and sufferings of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were set on foot by the doctrines of Wickliff, are to be found in the learned work of Wilkins, entitled *Concilia Magnæ Britannicæ et Hibernicæ* tom. iii. p. 116, 156. See also Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris* tom. iv. p. 450. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 183, 186. et passim.

1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree; and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up and publicly burnt.

xxi. Notwithstanding the mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic phrensy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second* Christ, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of Jesus. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronise and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert, that the absurd fable of the *stigmas*, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount Alvernus, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact.ⁱ Nor was this all; for they not only permitted to be published without any mark of their disap-

The impiety
of the franciscans.

ⁱ The story of the *marks*, or *stigmas*, impressed on Francis, is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which Wadding has collected with great care, and published in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. and ix. The dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. Francis had upon his body the *marks* or impressions of the five great wounds of Christ, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he *imprinted* on himself these *holy* wounds, that he might resemble Christ, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies *marks* of this kind, that, having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of Christ, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. Paul, *Galat. vi. 17*, were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion, an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these *stigmatised fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the franciscan monks, having found these *marks* upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of Christ's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

probation, but approved, and even recommended an impious piece, stuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the abovementioned fictions, and entitled, *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was composed in the year 1383, by Bartholomew Albizi, a franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument of the outrageous enthusiasm and abominable arrogance of the franciscan order; and not less so of the excessive imprudence of the popes in extolling and recommending it.*

The book of the conformities of St. Francis.

XXII. The franciscans, who adhered to the genuine and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions, were not a whit wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By these antipapal franciscans, I mean the *fratricelli* or minorites, and the tertiaries of that order, otherwise called *beghards*, together with the *spirituals*, who resided principally in France, and embraced the opinions of Pierre d'Olive. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century,¹ the less austere franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the *fratricelli*, who had deserted their communion;^m upon which, such of the latter as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into France in the year 1307, and as-

The enormities of the *fratricelli*.

* Concerning Albizi in his book, see Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158. J. A. Fabricii *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 131. Schelhornii *Amæn. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160. Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Francis, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. at the article Albizi, p. 217. Erasmus Albert made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and in the year 1734, was published at Amsterdam in two volumes 8vo. in French and Latin, with elegant cuts.

† The *conformities* between Christ and St. Francis, are carried to forty in the book of Albizi, but they are multiplied to four thousand by a Spanish monk of the order of observants, in a book published at Madrid, in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratia Portentum*. The *conformities* mentioned by Pedro de Alva Astorga, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.

¹ In the year 1306, and 1307.

^m Waddingi *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. ad An. 1307, p. 91

sociated themselves with the *spirituals*, or followers of Pierre d'Olive in Provence, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this, the whole franciscan order, in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. Francis, were called *spirituals*; the other, which insisted upon mitigating the austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the *brethren of the community*. The latter, being by far the most numerous and powerful, exerted themselves to the utmost to oppress the former, whose faction as yet was but weak, and as it were, in its infancy; but notwithstanding this, they cheerfully submitted to these hardships, rather than return to the society of those who had deserted the rules of their master. Pope Clement V. having drawn the leaders of these two parties to his court, took great pains to compose their dissensions; nevertheless, his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on account of the inflexible obstinacy of each sect, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while, the *spirituals* of Tuscany, instead of waiting for the decision of his holiness, chose themselves a president, and inferior officers; while those of France, being in the neighbourhood of Avignon, patiently expected the papal determination.^a

xxiii. After many deliberations, Clement V. in a general council held at Vienne, in Dauphine, where he issued out the famous bull, *Exivi de paradiso*,^o proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the *spirituals*, or rigid franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of *absolute poverty*, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn *renunciation of all property, whether common or personal*, confining them to what was necessary for their *immediate subsistence*, and allowing them, even for that, a very *scanty pittance*. He however, on the other hand, permitted the franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the ne-

Deliberations
about compos-
ing the differ-
ences among
the franciscans.

^a Waddingi *Annal.* tom. iv. 1310, p. 172. Echardi *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 129. Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

^o This bull is inserted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De verbor. signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095, edit. Bohmeri.

cessaries of life, to erect *granaries*, and *storehouses* where they might deposit a part of their alms as a *stock* in case of want; and ordered that all such *granaries* and *storehouses* should be under the inspection and management of overseers and storekeepers, who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And finally, in order to satisfy the *brethren of the community*, he condemned some opinions of Pierre d'Olive.^p These proceedings silenced the monastic commotions in France; but the Tuscan and Italian *spirituals* were so exceedingly perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves any longer safe in Italy, went into Sicily, where they met with a very friendly reception from king Frederic, the nobility, and bishops.^q

xxiv. Upon the death of Clement V. the tumult, which had been appeased by his authority, was revived in France with as much fury as ever. For, in the year 1314, an hundred and twenty of the *spirituals* made a violent attack upon the *brethren of the community*, drove them out of the convents of Narbonne and Beziers by force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree by laying aside their ancient habits, and assuming such as were short, straight, and coarse. They were soon joined by a considerable number from other provinces, and the citizens of Narbonne, where Olive was interred, enlisted themselves in the party. John XXII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains to heal this new disorder. The first thing he did for this purpose was to publish a special bull, by which he ordered the abolition of the *fratricelli* or *minorites*, and their *tertiaries*, whether *beguines*, or *beghards*, who were a body distinct from the *spirituals*.^r In the next place, he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the *spirituals* who had taken refuge in his dominions;^s and then ordered the French *spirituals*, to appear at Avignon; where he exhorted them to return to

^p Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194, 197, 199.

^q Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 152,

165. Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392, s.

^r This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *De religiosis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

^s Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265, s.

their duty; and as the first step to it, to lay aside *their short straight habits, with the small hoods*. The greatest part of them obeyed; but Fr. Bernard Delitiosi, who was the head of the faction, and twenty four of the brethren, boldly refused to submit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the rules prescribed by St. Francis were the same with the gospel of Jesus Christ; that the popes therefore had no authority to alter them; that the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the franciscans to have *granaries and storehouses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. Francis. John, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely nothing could make them appear *viler heretics* in the papal eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for Fr. Delitiosi, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called Delli Consi, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the year 1318, at Marseilles, which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

xxv. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity, who were afterward cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. Francis, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the franciscan order, and their *granaries and storehouses*. The *brethren of the community*, or the less rigid franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the *spirituals* went in

The ridiculous
disputes of the
franciscans.

¹ Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116, tom. ii. p. 341, et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195, 272. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267, s. 316, s. Martene *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. Martinus *Fuldensis*, in *Eccardi Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi.* tom. i. p. 1725, et Herm. Cornerus, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire generale de Langue d'oc*, tom. iv. p. 179, s. Argentre *Collectio Judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294, s.

straight, short, and very coarse ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress enjoined by the institute of St. Francis, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas the *brethren of the community*, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *spiritual* franciscans resolutely opposed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty, that had been embraced by the *fratricelli* or *minorites*. In order to put an end to these broils, pope John, this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes upon the two points abovementioned, to the decision of their superiors.^u

xxvi. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of John XXII. whose cruelty was con- Excite grievous commotions. demned and detested even by his adherents. For the *spiritual* franciscans and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that John XXII. by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *antichrist*. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burnt at Marseilles, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes; and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against *long habits, large hoods, granaries, and storehouses*. The inquisitors on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So that from this time a vast number of those zealous defenders of the institute of St. Francis, viz. the *minorites, beghards, and spirituals*, were most barbarously put to death, not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany.^w

^u It may be seen in the *Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communes de verbor. signif. cap. i.* See also Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273.

^w Beside many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the Inquisition at Carcassone, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of Innocent VI. were burnt in France and Italy, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. Francis. I reckon that, from these

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread, till it invaded the whole franciscan order, which, in the year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles.

A new dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.

A certain *beguin*, or monk of the third order of St. Francis, who was apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, "That neither Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion." John de Belna, an inquisitor of the dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but Berengarius Taloni, a franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminet*, of Nicolas III. The judgment of the former was approved by the dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called into his council Ubertinus de Casalis, the patron of the *spiritual*, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave capitious, subtle, and equivocal answers to the questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his decisions, equivocal as they were, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the same time, silence and moderation on the contending parties.^x

xxviii. But the dominicans and franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. John XXII. perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of Paris, the determination of this point, viz. "Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed." The franciscans, who held an assembly this

and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex Inquis. Tholosanæ*, a Limborchio editus, p. 298, 302, 319, 327, &c.

^x Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 307
 Corb. du Bois, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611, s.

year at Perugia, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to Avignon, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person they commissioned for this purpose was F. Bonagratia, of Bergamo, who also went by the name of Boncortese,¹ one of their fraternity, and a man famous for his extensive learning. John XXII. being highly incensed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of November, wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite to that of the franciscans, and pronounced them heretics, for obstinately maintaining "That Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in what they possessed, nor a power of selling, or alienating, any part of it." Soon after he proceeded yet farther, and in another constitution, published in December following, exposed the weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of Nicolas III. concerning the property of the franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of Rome, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call *right*, and were only allowed the *simple use* of what was necessary for their *immediate* support. In order to confute this plea, he showed that it was absolutely impossible to separate *right* and *property* from the *lawful use* of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the franciscan effects, which had been reserved to the church of Rome by former popes, their churches, and some other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the ancient constitutions relating to this affair.²

¹ I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names for two different persons.

² These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. de verbor. signific. cap. ii. iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer Alvarus Pelagius, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. c. 60, s. 145, as also Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394, s. Each of them blames John Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191, s.

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted *expropriation*, which was the main bulwark of the franciscan order, and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was there-

The quarrel
between the
franciscans
and John
XXII.

fore natural that these measures should determine the franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And such indeed was the effect they produced; for in the year 1323, they sent their brother Bonagratia in quality of legate to the papal court, where he vigorously and openly opposed the latter constitution of John, boldly affirming, that it was contrary to all law both human and divine.^a The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated against this audacious defender of the franciscan poverty, threw him into prison; and by a new edict, which he published about the end of the year, enacted, that all who maintained that Christ, and his apostles, had no common or special property in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics, and corrupters of the true religion.^b Finding however that the franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that *tenet concerning the expropriation of Christ, and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the catholic faith*, and declared all such as adhered to it, *obstinate heretics, and rebels against the church*.^c In consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that Christ and his apostles were exactly such mendicants as Francis would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the franciscans, and committed to the flames. The history of France and Spain, Italy and Germany, during this and the follow-

^a Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2, 22. Avar. Pelagius, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. s. 167. Trithemius, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157. Theod. de Nien, in *Eccardi Corpore Histor. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

^b Waddingi, tom. vii. p. 36. *Contin. de Nangis*, in Dacherii *Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205. *Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

^c This constitution, as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De verbor. signif.* Waddingus, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this last, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

ing century, abounds with instances of this deplorable cruelty.

xxx. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years successively; and as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of Pierre d'Olive, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla*, and the other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical.^d The next step he took was to summon to Avignon some of the more learned and eminent brèthren of the franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was the most apprehensive, and to detain them at his court; and then, to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the dominicans. Michael de Cæsenas, who resided in Italy, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to Avignon, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his office.^e But prudent as this violent measure might appear at first sight, it served only to inflame the enraged franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well known contest between John XXII. and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria break out, than the principal champions of the franciscan cause, such as Marsilius of Padua, and Jo. de Janduno, or Genoa, fled to the emperor, and under his protection published the most virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked John personally, but also levelled their satires at the power and authority of the popes in general.^f This example was soon followed by others, particularly by Mich. Cæsenas, and William Occam, who excelled most men of his time in subtilty and acuteness of genius, and also by F. Bonagratia of Bergamo. They made their

The attempts
of the franciscans
against
the pope.

^d Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47. Jo. Georg. Eccardi *Corpus Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491.

^e Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 69, 74.

^f Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85, s. *Bullar. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695, 704. Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this subject written by Marsilius of Padua, who was professor at Vienna, which was published in 8vo. at Francfort, by Franc. Gomarus, 1592, and is entitled, *Defensor pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem.*

escape by sea from Avignon, in the year 1327, went first to the emperor, who was at that time in Italy, and from thence proceeded to Munich. They were soon joined by many others, such as Berengarius, Francis de Esculo, and Henry de Halem, who were highly and deservedly esteemed on account of their eminent parts and extensive learning.⁵ All these learned fugitives defended the institute of their founder in long and laboured treatises, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compass, and loaded the pontiffs with reproaches and invectives. Occam surpassed them all in the keenness and spirit of his satire; and hence his *dialogues*, together with his other productions, which were perused with avidity, and transmitted down to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles.

Lewis of Bavaria becomes the patron of the franciscans.

For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused John XXII. and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of Christ did not exclude all right and property in what he used as a subsistence.⁶ The *fratricelli*, *beghards*, *beguines*, and *spirituals*, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in Germany, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that during his reign, that country was overrun with shoals of mendicant friars. There was scarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with *beghards* and *beguines*; that is monks professing the third rule of St. Francis, and who placed the chief excellence of the christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty.⁷ The dominicans, on the other

⁵ Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 81. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iii. p. 749, 757, s. 781. Trithemii *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217. Eccardi *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 293, 315. The reader may also consult those writers who have compiled *Indexes and Collections of Ecclesiastical Historians*.

⁶ See *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem A.* 1328, d. 12. *Dec. datus*, in Baluzii *Miscellaneis*, tom. ii. p. 522, and also his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

⁷ I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

hand, as enemies to the franciscans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great severity by his imperial majesty, who banished them with ignominy out of several cities.^k

xxxii. The rage of the contending parties subsided greatly from the year 1329. The pope caused a diet of the franciscans to be held that year at Paris, where, by means of cardinal Bertrand, who was president of the assembly, and the Parisian doctors, who were attached to his interests, he so far softened the resentment of the greatest part of the brethren, that they ceased to defend the conduct of Michael Cæsenas, and his associates, and permitted another president, Gerard Oddo, to be substituted in his room. They also acknowledged John to be a true and lawful pope; and then terminated the dispute concerning the poverty of Christ in such an ambiguous manner, that the constitutions and edicts of Nicolas III. and John XXII. however contradictory, maintained their authority. But notwithstanding these pacific and mutual concessions, there were great numbers of the franciscans in Germany, Spain, and Italy, who would by no means consent to this reconciliation. After the death of John, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. took great pains to close the breach, and showed great clemency and tenderness toward such of the order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal bulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many who had withdrawn themselves from the society, were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were Francis de Esculo, and others, who had been some of John's most inveterate enemies.^m Even those who would not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connexion with those *fratricelli* and *tertiaries* in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who contemned the papal authority.ⁿ

xxxiii. The German franciscans, who were protected by the emperor Lewis, held out their opposition

The distresses

^k Mart. Diefenbach. *De mortis genere, quo Henricus VII. obiit*, p. 145, and others. Eccardi *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 220.

^l Waddingi *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 94. Dacherii *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

^m Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 231. Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

ⁿ Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116, 126. Argentre, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

of the spirituals, *beghards*, &c. in Germany.

much longer than any of the rest. But in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the franciscan *spirituals*, as also of their associates the *beghards*, or *tertiaries*, were at an end in Germany. For in the year 1345, his successor, Charles IV. having been raised to the imperial throne by the intercession of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of Rome, and accordingly supported both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all of these enemies that came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the districts of Magdeburg and Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, where they extirpated all the *beghards*, as well as the *beguines* or *tertiaries*, the associates of those franciscans who held that Christ and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by Charles IV. who then resided in Italy, at Lucca, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out severe edicts commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the *beghards* and *beguines*, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars*,^o as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to assist the *inquisitors* in their proceedings against them. By another edict, published not long after, he gave the houses of the *beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *Inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*; and at the same time, ordered all the effects of the *beguines* to be sold publicly, and the profits arising from thence to be equally divided between the *inquisitors*, the magistrates, and the poor of those towns and cities where such sale shall be made.^p The *beghards*, being reduced to great straits by this and other mandates of the emperor, and by the

^o In High Dutch, *Die wilgen Armen*.

^p I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of Charles IV. enacted on this occasion, as also many of the papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair, and which undoubtedly deserve to see the light. It is certain, that Charles IV. himself, in his edicts and mandates, clearly characterizes those people, whom he there styles *beghards* and *beguines*, as *franciscan tertiarys*, belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. "They are," to use the emperor's own words in his edict, issued out at Lucca, and bearing date the 16th of June, 1369, "a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow that they neither ought to have, nor will have any property, whether special or common, in the goods they use," this is the poverty of the franciscan institute, which John XXII. so strenuously opposed, "which they extend even to their wretched habits." For so the spirituals and their associates used to do.

constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those provinces of Switzerland that border upon the Rhine, and also in Holland, Brabant, and Pomerania.^a But the edicts and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed them wherever they went, and distressed them in their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign of Charles IV. the greatest part of Germany, Switzerland, and those provinces that are contiguous to it excepted, was thoroughly purged of the *beghards*, or rebellious franciscans, both *perfect* and *imperfect*.

xxxiv. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. Francis, that numbers were to be found in all places, who either withstood the president of the society, or at least, obeyed him with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that Paulutius Fulginas, who was the chief of the more rigid franciscans in Italy, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The *spirituals*, and the followers of Olive, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the *severer discipline* continually increased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, viz. the *conventual brethren*, and the *brethren of the observation*. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were

Their divisions so far from being extinguished by these proceedings, that the franciscan order is split into two considerable parties.

^a See Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1372*, § xxxiv. p. 513. See also the books of Felix Malleolus, written in the following century against the *beghards* in Switzerland.

called by the former name; and the council of Constance conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it.^r But the *fratricelli*, together with the *beghards*, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church, during this and the following century, in the marquisate of Ancona, and in other places.

xxxv. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. John Colombini, a nobleman of Sienna, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the *apostolic clerks*, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of Jesus, were afterward called *jesuates*. This institution was confirmed by Urban V. the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by Clement IX.^s The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. Augustin. They were not however admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed *gratis*.^t But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when Clement dissolved the order.

xxxvi. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous sect of the *cellite brethren and sisters*, arose at Antwerp; they were also styled the *alexian brethren and sisters*, because St. Alexius was their patron; and they were named *cellites*, from the cells in which they were used to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and dying, and deserted such as were infected with those pestilential disorders which were then very frequent, some compassionate and pious persons at Antwerp, formed themselves into a society for the performance of those religious offices which the sacerdotal orders so shamefully neglected. Pursuant to this agreement, they visited and comforted the sick, as-

^r See Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 209, 298, 326, 336, tom. ix. p. 59, 65, 78, &c.

^s In the year 1668.

^t Hipp. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 411, s. Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189, s. Bouanni, and others who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

sisted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of those who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forsaken by the affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this last office, that the common people gave them the name of *lollards*.^u

^u Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the sect and name of the *lollards*, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, because I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the *lollards*; and from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from whence their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm, that the *lollards* were a particular sect, who differed from the church of Rome in many religious points; and that Walter Lollhard, who was burnt in this century at Cologne, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to Jo. Trithemius as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

The term *lollhard*, or *lullhard*, or, as the ancient Germans write it, *lollert*, *lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *tullen*, *lollen*. *tullen*, and the well known termination *hard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *tullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the English, who say, *lull asleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See Franc. Junii *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, ab Edvardo Lye, Oxon. 1743, fol. under the word *lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective dictionaries. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration; for they say, *tallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or stammer. *Lollhard* therefore is a singer or one who frequently sings. For as the word *beggen*, which universally signifies to request any thing fervently, is applied to devotional requests, or prayers; and in the stricter sense in which it is used by the High Dutch, denotes praying fervently to God; in the same manner, the word *lollen*, or *tullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. *Lollhard* therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. Hoscmius, a canon of Liege, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in Jo. Chapeavilli *Gestis Pontificum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350, s. "In the same year," 1309, says he, "certain strolling hypocrites, who were called *lollards*, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant." Because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, therefore, in the Latin style of the middle age, to praise God, meant to sing to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called religious singers. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety toward God, therefore, those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called *lollhards*. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term *beghard*, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous; so that all who are styled *beghards* are also called *lollards*, which may be proved to a demonstration from many authors, and particularly from many passages in the writings of Felix Malleolus against the *beghards*; so that there are precisely as many sorts of *beghards* as of *lollards*. Those whom the monks now call *laybrothers*, were formerly named *lollard brethren*, as is well observed by Barthol. Schobinger, *Ad Jorch. Vadianum de collegiis monasterisque Germaniæ Veter.* lib. i. p. 24, in Goldasti *Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.

The brethren of the free spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled *beggards*, by others *lollards*. The followers of Gerhard Groote, or priests of the community, are frequently called *lollard brethren*. The good man Walter,

The example of these good people had such an extensive influence, that in a little time societies of the same sort of *lollards*, consisting both of men and women, were formed in most parts of Germany and Flanders, and were supported, partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and

who was burnt at Cologne, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the *lollards*, is by some called a *beggard*, by others a *lollard*, and by others a *minorite*. The franciscan *tertiaries*, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exercises, often go by the name of *lollards*. The *cellite brethren*, or *alexians*, whose piety was very exemplary, did no sooner appear in Flanders about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of *lollards*, a term much in use at that time. A particular reason indeed for their being distinguished by this name was, that they were public singers, who made it their business to inter the bodies of those who died of the plague, and sang a dirge over them in a mournful and indistinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many testimonies that might be alleged to prove this, we shall confine ourselves to the words of Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, a man eminently skilled in the history of his country, in his work, entitled, *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. "The Alexians," says he, "who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled *matemanni*, or *moderats*, and also *lollards*, from their attendance on funeral obsequies. From their cells they were named *cellite brethren*." To the same purpose is the following passage in his work, entitled, *Locanum*, p. 18, which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, published at Louvain in 1708; "The alexians, who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy were named *lollards* and *matemanni*, or *moderats*. They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick or out of their senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead." The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary written in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in Ant. Matthæi *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 431, the following words; "Die Lollardtjes die brochten, de dooden by een, i. e. the *lollards* who collected the dead bodies;" which passage is thus paraphrased by Matthæus, "The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a set of mean, worthless creatures, who usually spoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to pass, that a street in Utrecht, in which most of these people lived, was called the *loller-street*." The same reason that changed the word *beggard* from its primitive meaning, contributed also to give, in process of time, a different signification to that of *lollard*, even its being assumed by persons that dishonoured it. For among those *lollards*, who made such extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and spent the greatest part of their time in meditation, prayer, and such like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the most ridiculous opinions, and concealed the most enormous vices, under the specious mask of this extraordinary profession. But it was chiefly after the rise of the *alexians*, or *cellites*, that the name *lollard* became infamous. For the priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that innocent and beneficent as the *lollards* seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered heresies, or crimes, under the appearance of piety, was called a *lollard*. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects, who were supposed to be guilty of impiety toward God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety.

needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was, that the word *lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious sentiments. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the *lollards* against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions, by which their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognisance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, Charles, duke of Burgundy, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope Sixtus IV. ordering that the *cellites*, or *lollards*, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and Pope Julius II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at Cologne, and in the cities of Flanders, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules.^w

xxxvii. Among the Greek writers of this century, the following were the most eminent. Greek writers.

Nicephorus Callistus, whose *Ecclesiastical History* we have already mentioned;

Matthæus Blastares, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

Barlaam, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins;

Gregorius Acindynus, an inveterate enemy of the palamites, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place;

Johannes Cantacuzenus, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the mahometan law;

^w Beside many others, whom it is not proper to mention here, see Ægid. Gellenius, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. *Syntagma*. li. p. 534, 598, 603. Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*. Anton. Sanderus, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustratis*. Aub. Miræus, in *operibus Diplomatico Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled *lollards* are by many called *die nollbruder*, from *nollen*, an ancient German word.

Nicephorus Gregoras, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity;

Theophanes, bishop of Nice, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies;

Nilus Cabasilas, Nilus Rhodius, and Nilus Damyla, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers;

Philotheus, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite a devotional temper and spirit;

Gregory Palamas; of whom more hereafter.

xxxviii. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we shall only select the most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, who blended philosophy with divinity, John Duns Scotus, a franciscan, and the great antagonist of Thomas, held the first rank: and, though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius.^x

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were Durandus, of St. Portian, who combated the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will,^y Antonius Andræas, Hervæus Natalis, Francis Mayronius, Thomas Bradwardine, an acute ingenious man,^z Peter Aureolus, John Bacon, William Occam, Walter Burlæus, Peter de Alliaco, Thomas of Strasburg, and Gregory de Rimini.^a

Among the mystic divines, Jo. Taulerus, and Jo. Ruysbrockius, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity;

Nicholas Lyranus acquired great reputation by his *Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible*;

^x The very laborious and learned Lue. Waddingus favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of Scotus, which was printed at Lyons, 1639, in twelve volumes folio. Compare Wood, *Antiq Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86, s. but especially Waddingus, *Annal. Minor. frat.* tom. vi. p. 40, 107. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

^y See Jo. Launoïus, in a small treatise, entitled, *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. *Gallia Christ.* tom. ii. p. 723.

^z Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 232, et *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Ecclesiast.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 360. Steph. Soucietus, in *Observationibus ad h. l.* p. 703. *Nouv. Dict. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500, s. He was archbishop of Canterbury.

^a For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12, s.

Raynerius Pisanus is celebrated for his *Summary of Theology*, and Astesanus for his *Summary of Cases of Conscience*.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. ALL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was ^{The corruption of religion.} so extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a single branch of the christian doctrine, which retained the least trace of its primitive lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be imagined, that the *waldenses* and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, though every where exposed to the fury of the *inquisitors* and monks, yet increased from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of these poor people having observed, that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the adjacent countries, where they afterward associated with the hussites and other separatists from the church of Rome.

II. Nicholas Lyranus deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the holy scriptures, having explained the books both of the Old and New Testament in a manner far superior to the ^{The state of exegetical or explanatory theology.} prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than in that of the New.^b All the other divines, who applied themselves to this kind of writing, were servile imitators of their predecessors. They either culled choice sentences from the writings of the

^b Rich. Simon, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du* Nos, p. 447, et *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 352 Waddiugi *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264, s.

more ancient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourse to Vitalis a Furno, his *Moral Mirrour of the Scriptures*,^c or to Ludolphus of Saxony, in his *Psalter Spiritualized*.^d The philosophers, who commented upon the sacred writings, sometimes proposed subtile questions, drawn from what was called, in this century, *internal science*, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding and teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of Thomas, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by Demetrius Cydonius, and others.^e Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtile method, in which John Scotus, Durandus a S. Portian, and William Occam, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of *scripture* and *tradition* in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not however prevent some wise and pious men among the *mystics*, and elsewhere, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry, to the study of the scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities.

The adversaries of the school divines.
The biblical divines.

^c *Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ*

^d *Psalterium juxta Spiritualem sensum.*

^e Rich. Simon, *Creeance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

especially in those of Paris and Oxford, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, headed by mendicants, dominicans, and franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into prison.^f However, when these commotions were quelled, most of them returned, though with prudence and caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adversaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

v. It is remarkable, that these *scholastic* doctors, or *philosophical* theologians, far from agreeing among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with plentiful accessions of fuel, by John Duns Scotus, an Englishman, of the franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his genius, and who, animated against the dominicans by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked and attempted to disprove several doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. Upon this, the dominicans, taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the common leader of the scholastics; while the franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour the cause of Scotus, whom they looked upon as a divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals.

Contentions
among the
schoolmen.
The scotists
and thomists.

^f See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. passim. In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266. In the year 1347, M. Jo. de Mercuria, and Nich. de Ultricuria were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298, 308. In 1348, one Simon was convicted of some horrible errors, p. 322. The same fate, A. 1354, befel Guido of the augustine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one Lewis, p. 374, to Jo. de Calore, p. 377. A. 1365, to Dion. Soullechat, p. 382. Oxford also had its share in transactions of this nature. See Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153, 183, s.

Thus these powerful and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence the origin of the two famous sects, the *scotists* and *thomists*, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the *nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *measure of divine grace* that is necessary to salvation, the *unity of form in man*, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of Scotus, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of what was called, the *immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, against the dominicans, who entertained different notions of that matter.^g

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated *mystics*, resided and propagated their tenets in almost every part of Europe. There were undoubtedly among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were Taulerus, Ruysbrocius, Suso, and Gerard of Zutphen,^h who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them all. But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfused into the divine essence; and thus led their proselytes into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious phrensy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as rendered them detestable to the soberer sort of *mystics*, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them.ⁱ

^g See Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52.

^h Concerning these authors, see Petr. Poiret, *Biblioth. Mysticorum*; and Godofr. Arnold, *Histor. et descriptio Theol. Mystica*. Concerning Taulerus and Suso, Echardus treats expressly in his *Scriptor. Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 653, 677. See also *Acta Sanctor.* Januar. tom. ii. p. 652.

ⁱ Joh. Ruysbrocius inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his *Work* pub-

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their merit is much of the same kind with that of ^{Moral writers.} the authors whom we have already mentioned; though it may be proper to mention two circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that about this time, more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve, what they styled *cases of conscience*; by which Astesanus, an Italian, Monaldus, and Bartholomew of St. Concordia, acquired a reputation superior to any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle, instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suitable practice. A second thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained, and their practice enforced, by allegories and comparisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. These writers began, for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities of some particular animal, and then applied their description to human life and manners, to characterize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The most remarkable productions of this sort are Nieder's *Formicarius*; a treatise concerning *bees* by Thomas Brabantinus; Hugo de St. Victor's dissertations upon *beasts*; and a tract of Thomas Walley's, entitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized*.

VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause ^{Controversial-} they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned Bradwardine, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things, toward the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The book, entitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, or *Eyesalve of Faith against the Heretics*, shows that its author Alvarus Pelagius was a well meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the

subject in this performance. Nicholas Lyra wrote against the Jews, as did also Porchetus Salvaticus, whose treatise, entitled, *The Triumph of Faith*, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of Raymond Martin. Both these writers are much inferior to Theophanes, whose *Book against the Jews* and his *Harmony between the Old and New Testament*, contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

ix. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, Andronicus the Younger, sent Barlaam as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to Clement VI. for the same purpose, and in 1356, a third was despatched upon a like errand to Innocent VI. who resided at Avignon. Nor was this all; for in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at Rome, in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself, John Palæologus, who undertook a journey into Italy, and in order to conciliate the friendship and good will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several of them, from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations.^k

x. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose at Paris, between the university there and the dominican order. The author of it was John de Montesono, a native of Arragon, a dominican friar and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to

The contention between the university of Paris and the dominicans.

^k See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369. Leo. Allatius, *De perpetua consensione eccles. Orient et Occident*, lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 782. Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29, 40, 107, 201, 289, 303, 312. Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 348, 380, 388, 403, 407, 410, 772.

the decisions and doctrine of his order, publicly denied that the blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without any stain of original sin; and moreover asserted, that all who believed the *immaculate conception* were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned by this proceeding would certainly have been soon compromised, had not John, in a public discourse, delivered some time in the year 1387, revived this opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterward the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of Montesonus. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of Paris, principally induced thereto by the discourses of John Duns Scotus, had from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin.¹ Upon this, the dominicans, together with their champion Montesonus, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope Clement VII. at Avignon, and raised an outcry, that St. Thomas himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of Avignon, went over to the party of Urban VI. who resided at Rome, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether or not the pope approved the sentence of the university of Paris, we cannot say. The dominicans however deny that he did, and affirm, that Montesonus was condemned purely on account of his flight;^m though there are many others, who assert that his opinion was also condemned. And as the dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404.ⁿ

Occasioned by
Montesonus.

¹ See Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52, s.

^m See Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

ⁿ Cæs. Egass. De Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599, 618, 638. Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521, tom. ii. p. 992. Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 61. Jac. de Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 347.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. WE must confine ourselves to a general and superficial view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century, since it cannot reasonably be expected we should insist largely upon this subject, within the narrow limits of such a work as this. One of the principal circumstances that strikes us here, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the requests of the people of Rome, enacted, that the *jubilee*, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century.^o In favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But Urban VI. Sixtus VI. and other popes, who ordered a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this inconsistency.

II. Innocent V. instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's side was pierced, and the *nails* that fastened him to the cross; and the crown of thorns he wore at his death.^o This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of Benedict XII. who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which the franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous inter-

^o Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247, 287, 312, 887. Muratorii *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344, 481.

^p See Jo. Henr. a Seelen, *Diss. de festo Lanceæ et clavorum Christi.* Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328, *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 417.

position of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous tale. Pope John XXII. beside the sanction he gave to many other ^{Prayers.} superstitions, ordered christians to add to their prayers those words with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE DIVISIONS AND HERESIES THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. DURING some part of this century the *hesychasts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *quietists*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it, we must observe, that ^{Controversies excited by the quietists.} Barlaam, a native of Calabria, who was a monk of St. Basil, and afterward bishop of Gieraci, in Calabria, made a progress through Greece to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *hesychasts* of mount Athos in Thessaly, who were the same with the mystics, or more perfect monks, and who, by a long course of intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of tumult and perturbation. These *quietists*, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors, who imagined that there was a celestial *light* concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind, used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boasted, that while they remained in this posture, they found in effect, a *divine light* beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts, inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight.^a

^a We have no reason to be surprised at, and much less to disbelieve this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all those people in the eastern world, whether christians, mahometans, or pagans, who maintain the necessity of abstracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the *contemplative* and *mystic life* among the Latins, that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an ecstasy, in which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said concerning the *zenner* monks and *mystics* by Engelb Kämpfer, in his *History of Ja-*

To such as inquired what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the *glory of God*, the same celestial radiance that surrounded Christ during his transfiguration on the mount. Barlaam, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners of the *mystics*, looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and therefore styled the monks who adhered to this institution, *massalians*, and *euchites*,^r and also gave them the new name of *umbilicani*.^s On the other hand, Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of these monks against Barlaam.^t

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council was held at Constantinople in the year 1341, in which the emperor himself, Andronicus the younger, and the patriarch presided. Here Palamas and the monks triumphed over Barlaam, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left Greece, and returned to Italy. Not long after this, another monk, named Gregory Acindynus, renewed the controversy, and, in opposition to the opinion maintained by Palamas, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also that such a light was beheld by the disciples on mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, but turned upon the light seen at mount Tabor, and also upon the nature and residence of the Deity. Nevertheless, he was condemned as a follower of Barlaam, in another council held at Constantinople.

The state of the controversy between the hesychasts and barlaamites.
pan, tom. i. p. 30, and also concerning those of India, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be most singular and whimsical; and that so much the more, as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain object as a means of arriving at a *vision of the Deity*, absolutely forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that ecstatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not however peculiar to the eastern quietists; the Latin mystics observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

☞^r The *massalians*, so called from a Hebrew word which signifies *prayer*, as *euchites* from a Greek word of the same signification, formed themselves into a sect, during the fourth century, under the reign of Constantius. Their tenets resembled those of the quietists in several respects.

^s Ομφαλοψυχοι.

^t For an account of these two famous men, Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, see, in preference to all other writers, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. x. p. 427, and 454.

Many assemblies were convened about this affair; but the most remarkable of them all, was that held in the year 1351, in which the barlaamites and their adherents received such a fatal wound, in consequence of the severe decrees enacted against them, that they were forced to yield, and leave the victory to Palamas. This prelate maintained, that God was encircled, as it were, with an *eternal light*, which might be styled his *energy* or *operation*, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and that he favoured the three disciples with a view of this light upon mount Tabor. Hence he concluded, that this divine *operation* was really different from the *substance* of the Deity; and further, that no being could possibly partake of the divine *substance* or *essence*, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light or *operation*. The barlaamites, on the contrary, denied these positions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his *essence*, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and essence of God, considered in themselves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them.^u

III. In the Latin church the *inquisitors*, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of Rome, even the *waldenses*, the *catharists*, the *apostolists*, and others; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by these unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, who went under the common name of *beghards* and *beguines*, in Germany and Flanders, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon

The severity
of the Inquisition
in the western
world.

^u See Jo. Cantacuzenus, *Historia*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263, and Gregor. Pontanus. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277, and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in many circumstances. Many materials relative to this controversy are yet unpublished, see Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150, 174, 404. Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well digested history of it. In the mean time, the reader may consult Leo Allatius, *De perpetua consensione Orient. et Occid. ecclesiarum*, lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 824. Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquae*, tom. iv. p. 361. Dion. Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 75 Steph. de Altamura, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God. they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so seducing, and thus made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during this century in Italy, France, and Germany.

iv. This sect was most numerous in those cities of Germany that lay upon the Rhine, especially at Cologne, which circumstance induced Henry I. archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306;^w an example that was soon followed by the bishops of Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strasburg.^x And as there were some subtile acute men belonging to this party, that eminently keen logician, John Duns Scotus,^y was sent to Cologne, in the year 1308, to dispute against them, and to vanquish them by dint of syllogism. In the year 1310, the famous Margaret Porretta, who made such a shining figure in this sect, was burnt at Paris with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate treatise, *that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from the restraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural appetites, without contracting any guilt.*^z Pope Clement V. exasperated by this and other instances of the pernicious fanaticism that had got among this sect, published in a general council held at Vienne, A. D. 1311, a special constitution against the *beggards* and *beguines* of Germany. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the *mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, are the persons principally intended.^a Clement, in the same council, issued another constitution, by which he suppress-

^w See *Statuta Coloniensia*, published in 4to. at Cologne, A. D. 1554, p. 58.

^x *Johannis Scriptor. rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

^y Wadding's *Annal. Minor* tom. vi. p. 108.

^z Luc. Dacherii *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63. Jo. Baleus, *De Scriptor. Britann.* Centur. iv. n. 88, p. 367, published in folio at Basil, A. D. 1557.

^a It is extant in the *Corpus Juris. Canon. inter Clementinas*, lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hæreticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

ed another, and a very different sort of *beguines*,^b who had hitherto been considered as a lawful and regular society, and lived every where in fixed habitations, appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics abovementioned. For the *brethren and sisters of the free spirit* had insinuated themselves in to the greatest part of the convents of the *beguines*, where they inculcated with great success their mysterious and sublime system of religion to these simple women. And these simple women were no sooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled, in the most absurd and impious manner, concerning the true worship of the Deity.^c

v. The *brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from Upper Germany, into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that Westphalia was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of Henry, archbishop of Cologne, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into Westphalia. About the same time the *beggards*^d upon the Rhine lost their chief leader and champion, Walter, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from Mentz to Cologne, where he was apprehended and burnt.^e The death of this

Nevertheless, the brethren and sisters of the free spirit could not be extirpated.

^b *In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De religiosis domibus*, cap. i. p. 1075, edit. Bohmer.

^c For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the *beguines* into those of the *right and approved class*, and those of the *sublime and free spirit*; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *mystics*.

^d By *beggards* here Dr. Mosheim means particularly the *brethren of the free spirit*, who frequently passed under this denomination.

^e Jo. Trithemii *Annal. Hirs.* tom. ii. p. 155. Schaten, *Annal. Paderborn* tom. ii. p. 250. This is that famous Walter, whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the *lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this and more from the following words of Trithemius. *But that same Walter Lohareus*, so it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been *Lollhardus*; especially as Trithemius, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church, a native of *Holland*, was not well versed in the *Latin tongue*. I say, from this short passage, learned men have concluded that Walter's surname was *Lollhard*; from whence, as from its founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of

person was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *brethren of the free spirit*, but did not however ruin their cause nor extirpate their sect. For it appears from innumerable testimonies, that these people, for a long time afterward, not only held their private assemblies at Cologne, and in many other provinces of Germany, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number Henry Ayeardus, or Eeeard, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a dominican, and also the superior of that order in Saxony; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at Paris.^f In the year 1330, pope John XXII. endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the *clementina*.^g But his attempt was fruitless, the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of Europe to the end of this century.

vi. The *clementina*, or constitution of the council of Vienne against the *beguines*, or those female societies, who lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by Luther, and ruined the cause both of the *beguines* and *beggards* in many places. For though the pope, in his last constitution had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *brethren of the free spirit*; yet the vast number

The persecution of the *beguines*, and its tragical conclusion.

lollards. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other passages of Trithemius, that *Lollhard* was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever, who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. Trithemius, speaking of the very same man, in a passage which occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls him *the head of the fratricelli*, or *minorites*; but the term *minorites* was a very extensive one, including people of various sects. This Walter embraced the opinions of the *mystics*, and was the principal doctor among those *brethren of the free spirit*, who lived on the banks of the Rhine.

^f See Eebardi *Scriptor. Predicator.* tom. i. p. 507. Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1329, § lxx. p. 389.

^g This new constitution of John XXII. was never published entire. It began with the following words; "In agro Dominico," and was inscribed thus, "contra singularia dubia, suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghina: prædicant et observant." We are favoured with a summary of it by Herm. Cornerus, in *Chronico*, in Eecardi *Corpor. Histor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, in *Chronico Civitensi*, in Jo. Pistorii *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

of enemies which the *beguines* and *beggards* had partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the *clementina* to molest the *beguines* in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults. and to involve the *beggards* in the like persecution. The Roman pontiff, John XXII. afforded the *beguines* some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special *constitution*, in which he gave a favourable explication of the *clementina*, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent *beguines* should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterward followed by other popes. On the other hand, the *beguines*, in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. Francis, and of the *augustines*. Yet all these measures in their favour could not prevent the loss both of their reputation and substance; for from this time they were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a greedy eye upon their treasures, and were extremely eager to divide the spoil.^b

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while Germany and many other parts of Europe were distressed with various calamities, the *flagellants*, The sect of the flagellants appears again. a sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in Germany, made their appearance anew, and rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. These new *flagellants*, whose enthusiasm infected every rank, sex, and age, were much worse than the old ones. They not only supposed that God might be prevailed upon to show mercy to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held among other things, "That flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism, and

^b I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long persecution of the *beguines*. But the most copious of all the writers who have published any thing upon this subject, especially if we consider his account of his persecution at Basil, and Mulbergius, the most inveterate enemy of the *beguines*, is Christianus Wursten, or Urstisius, in his *Chronicon Basiliense*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201, published in folio at Basil, 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in many libraries, MSS. tracts of this celebrated Mulbergius, written against the *beguines* in the following century.

the other sacraments; that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God, without the merits of Jesus Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place," with other tenets more or less enormous than these; whereupon Clement VII. thundered out anathemas against the flagellants, who were burnt by the *inquisitors* in several places. It was however found as difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics.ⁱ

viii. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *dancers*, which, in the year 1373, arose at Aix la Chapelle, from whence it spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other parts of Flanders. It was customary among these fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and holding each other's hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that during these intervals of vehement agitation. they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the *flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new phrensy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the priests of Liege endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense; and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms.^k

ⁱ See Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160, 316, 319, and *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 50. Matthæi *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 50, tom. iii. p. 241, tom. iv. p. 145. Herm. Gygis, *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

^k See Baluzii *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485. Ant. Matthæi *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 51, where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question; *A.* 1374, *Gingen de Dansers*, and then in Latin, *Gens, impacata cadit, cruciata salvat.* The French *convulsionists*, or prophets, who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled these brethren and sister dancers.

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century, if the enormities with which they stand charged be true, were the *knights templars*, who had been established in Palestine about two hundred years before this period, and who are represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuser was Philip the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the *templars* to Clement V. who was himself an avaricious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's desire; so that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterward, all the knights, who were dispersed throughout Europe, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of Vienne. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. John, now of Malta, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasures of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

x. The *knights templars*, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of God, turned into derision the gospel of Christ, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that candidates, upon their admission to this order, were commanded to spit, as a mark of contempt, upon an image of Christ; and that after admission, they were bound to worship either a cat, or wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that among them, the odious and unnatural act of sodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours; and added to these, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allow-

The knights
templars ex-
tirpated.

The intolerable impiety of the knights templars is assigned as the cause of this severity.

A reflection concerning the crimes laid to their charge.

ed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the whole order of the *templars* was thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing under the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it would seem probable that king Philip set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his resentment against the *templars*,¹ and especially against their grand master, who had highly offended him.

¹ See the *acts* annexed to Putean's *Histoire de la Condemnation des Templiers*, and other writings of his, relating to the history of France, published in 4to. at Paris, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in Svo. at Paris, 1685; another at Brussels 1713. two volumes in Svo. The fourth, and most valuable of all, was published in 4to. at Brussels, 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the *templars* were greatly injured. See also Nicolai Gurtleri *Historia Templariorum*, Amstelod, 1703, in Svo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to consult Steph. Baluzius *Vit. Pontif. Avenion* tom. i. p. 8, 11, 12, &c. Germ. du Bois, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's indelible hatred against the *templars*, was, that in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which Philip could never pardon.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE new subjects that were added to the kingdom of Christ in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it, by applying it to those who made an external though insincere profession of Christianity. Ferdinand, surnamed the *Catholic*, by the conquest of Granada in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens in Spain. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued out a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the gospel of Christ;^a and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in Spain and Portugal, a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against the rage of persecution, and to advance their worldly interests. The myriads of Saracens that remained in Spain after the dissolution of their government, were at first solicited by exhortations and entreaties to embrace the gospel. When these gentle methods proved ineffectual to bring about their conversion, the famous Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, and prime minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the secular arm, in order to accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this rigorous measure was without the desired effect; the greatest part of the mahometans per-

The Moors
and Jews
converted in
Spain by
force.

^a Jo. de Ferreras. *Hist. Generale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 123, 132, &c.

sisted, with astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet.^b

II. The light of the gospel was also carried in this century among the Samoetæ and the neighbouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected.^c Toward the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardour and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as Ethiopia and the Indies. In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, by discovering the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica, opened a passage into America,^d and after him Americus Vesputius, a citizen of Florence, landed on the continent of that vast region.^e The new Argonauts, who discovered these nations that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this pious nature was made by the Portuguese among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of Congo, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a sudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491.^f But what must we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once, without hesitation, abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting aspect? After this religious revolution in Africa, Alexander VI. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption, in dividing America between the Portuguese and Spaniards; but showed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of the gospel, by the ardour with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region.^g In consequence of this exhortation of the pontiff, a great number of franciscans and dominicans were sent into these countries to enlighten their darkness, and the success of their missions is abundantly known.^h

^b Esprit Flechier. *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89. Geddes. *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. S.

^c Jo. Henry Hottinger, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xv.* p. 556.

^d See Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, tom. i. p. 64.

^e See the *Life of Americus Vesputius*, written in Italian, by the learned Angeli Maria Bandini.

^f Labat, *Relation de l'Ethiophe Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366. Jos. Franc. Lafitau. *Histoire des decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

^g See the Bull itself, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

^h See Thom. Maria Mamachius, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Christianar.* tom. ii. p. 326,

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITOUS EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH
DURING THIS CENTURY.

i. In the vast regions of the eastern world, Christianity lost ground from day to day, and the mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. Asiatic Tartary, Mogul, Tangut, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus had long flourished, were now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reigned among them under the vilest forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible, except in China, where the nestorians still preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That some nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain; for in this century the nestorian pontiff, in Chaldea, sent missionaries into Cathay and China, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires.ⁱ It is at the same time almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

The decline of
Christianity in
the east.


ii. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new source of calamities to the christian church in the greatest part of Europe and Asia. When the Turks, headed by Mahomet II. an accomplished prince, and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of Constantinople, in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of Mahomet, and overspread Greece with a fatal rapidity. The Turks

Constantino-
ple taken by
the Turks.

where we have an account of the gradual introduction of the christian religion into America. See also Wadding. *Annal. Minor* tom. xv. p. 10.

ⁱ This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. Theophilus Sigifred Bayer, one of the greatest adepts in Eastern History and Antiquities. that this or any other age has produced.

took one part of the city of Constantinople by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms.^k Hence it was, that in the former, the public profession of the gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the gospel, and the dictates of their consciences. This precious liberty was indeed considerably diminished under the reign of Selim I. and the christian worship was loaded with severe and despotic restrictions.^l The outward form of the christian church was not indeed either changed or destroyed by the Turks; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere shadow under their tyrannic empire. The Roman pontiff Pius II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to Mahomet II. to persuade that prince to profess the gospel; but this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence.^m

 ^k In this account Dr. Mosheim has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose, that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

^l Denet. Cantemir *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11, 46, 54, 55.

^m Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Mahomet II.

PART II.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE Grecian and oriental muses languished under the despotic yoke of the mahometans, their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The re-
Learning flourishes among the Latins.
public of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit under the most auspicious encouragements, and recovered their ancient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom Nicholas V. deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious family of the Medicis in Italy,^a Alphonsus VI. king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the house of Arragon,^o acquired immortal renown by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science. Hence the academies that were founded in Germany, France, and Italy, the libraries that were collected at a prodigious expense, and the honours and rewards that were proposed to the studious youth, to animate their industry by the views of interest and the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances, in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable discovery, which contributed as much as any thing else to their pro-

^a We have a full account of the obligations which the republic of letters has to the family of Medicis, in a valuable work of Joseph Bianchini de Prato, *Del gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici. Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Hi torici* published in folio at Venice, in 1741.

^o See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 560, 628. Anton. Panormitani *Dieta et Facta memorabilia Alphonsi I denovo Edita a Jo. Gerh. Meuschenio Vit. Erud. Viror.* tom. ii. p. 1

pagation, I mean the *art of printing*, first with wooden, and afterward with metal types, which was invented about the year 1440, at Meutz. by John Guttemberg. By the succours of this incomparable art, the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form.^p The perusal of these noble compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way.^q

ii. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For, after the reduction of Constantinople, the most eminent of the Greek *literati* passed into Italy, and were from thence dispersed into the other countries of Europe, where, to gain subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed every where the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was, that every noted city and university possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits.^r But they received no where

The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

☞ P Dr. Mosheim decides here, that Guttemberg of Mentz was the first inventor of the art of printing. but this notion is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Among the many treatises that have been published upon this subject, there is none composed with more erudition and judgment than that of professor Schoepflin of Strassbourg, in which the learned author undertakes to prove, that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at Haerlem by Coster; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the discovery of John Guttemberg, a discovery made during his residence at Strassbourg; and that the still more perfect manner of printing with types of metal cast in a mould, was the contrivance of John Schoeffer, and was first practised at Mentz. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of Marchand, Fournier, and other writers, was published in the year 1760 at Strassbourg, under the following title; Jo. Danielis Schoepflini *Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. Vindiciæ Typographicae, &c.*^s

q Mich. Mattaire, *Annales Typographici*. Prosp. Marchand, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, Hays, 1740.

r Jo. Henr. Maii *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11, 13, 19, 28, 152, 153, 165. Casp. Barthius *Ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 100S Boulay, *Hist. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

☞ * So this note stands in the first edition of this history in 4to. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. Gerard Meerman, pensionary of Rotterdam, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing under the following title; *Origines Typographicae*, which sets this matter in its true light, by making certain distinctions unknown to the writers who have treated this subject before him. According to the hypothesis of this learned writer, an hypothesis supported by irresistible proofs, Laurent Coster, of Haerlem, invented the moveable wooden types. Gensfleisch and Guttemberg carved *metallic* types at Mentz, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal. Schoeffer perfected the invention at Strassbourg, by casting the types in an iron mould, or *matrice*, engraved with a punchon. Thus the question is decided. Laurent Coster is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.

such encouraging marks of protection and esteem as in Italy, where they were honoured in a singular manner in various cities, and were more especially distinguished by the family of Medicis, whose liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was consequently in Italy that these ingenious fugitives were most numerous; and hence that country became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and sciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were ambitious of literary glory.^s

Philology, poetry, and languages cultivated.

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who adorned at this time the various provinces of Italy, were principally employed in publishing accurate and elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin authors, illustrating these authors with useful commentaries, in studying them as their models, both in poetry and prose, and in casting light upon the precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered from day to day. In all these branches of literature, many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris, there was now a public professor, not only of the Greek, but also of the Hebrew tongue;^t and in Spain and Italy the study of that language, and of oriental learning, and antiquities in general, was pursued with the greatest success.^u John Reuchlinus, otherwise called Capnion, and Trithemius, who had made a vast progress both in the study of the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers of solid learning among the Germans;^w Latin poetry was revived by Antonius Panormitanus, who excited a spirit of emulation among the favourites of the muses, and had many followers in that sublime art;^x while Cyriac of Ancona, by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monuments

^s For a farther account of this interesting period of the history of learning, the reader may consult the learned work of Humphr. Hody, *De Græcis illustribus literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*, published in Svo. at Leipsic, in the year 1750, To which may be added, Sam. Battierii *Oratio de instauratoribus Græcarum literarum*, published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

^t R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles. par Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 502, 512. Boulay, *Hist. Paris*, tom. v. p. 852.

^u Pauli Columesii *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

^w R. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 262, tom. iv. p. 131, 140.

^x Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Panormi.

of antiquity, of which he himself made a large collection in Italy.¹

iv. It is not necessary to give here a peculiar and minute account of the other branches of literature that flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of philosophy deserves a moment's attention. The state of the aristotelian and platonian philosophy. Before the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, Aristotle reigned unrivalled there, and captivated, as it were by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical inquiries. The veneration that was shown him degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precursor of the Messiah.² This violent passion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered less universal, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly Gemestius Pletho, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtile doctrine of the peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild and divine wisdom of Plato. It was in the year 1439, about the time of the famous council of Florence, that this revolution happened in the empire of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments and doctrines of Plato, had them propagated among the studious youth, and particularly among those of a certain rank and figure. The most eminent patron of this *divine* philosophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was Cosmo de Medicis, who had no sooner heard the lectures of Pletho, than he formed the design of founding a platonic academy at Florence. For this purpose he ordered Marsilius Ficinus, the son of his first physician, to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Athenian sage, and in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might translate into Latin the productions of the most renowned platonists. Ficinus answered well the expectations, and exe-

¹ See the *Inventory* of Cyriac of Ancona, published at Florence, in the year 1742, in 8vo by Mr. Lawrence Nodding, from the original manuscript, together with a preface, annotations, and several letters of this learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in Europe. See also Leon Aretini *Epistole*, tom. ii lib. ix. p. 149

² See Christ. Aug. Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 345

cuted the intentions of his illustrious patron, by translating successively into the Latin language the celebrated works of Hermes Trismegistus, Plotinus, and Plato. The same excellent prince encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, such as Ambrose of Camaldoli, Leonardo Bruno, Pogge, and others, to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich the Latin literature with translations of the best Greek writers. The consequence of all this was, that two philosophical sects arose in Italy, who debated for a long time, with the warmest animosity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions, this important question, which of the two was the greatest philosopher, Aristotle or Plato?^a

v. Between these two opposite factions, certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class be-
The platonic
syncretists.
 longed Johannes Picus de Mirandola, Bessarion, Hermolaus, Barbarus, and others of less renown, who indeed considered Plato as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer Aristotle to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern platonic school, of which Ammonius was the original founder.^b Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the peripatetics. But after all, these reconciling platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell

^a Boivin, dans l'*Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 381. Launoïus, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225. Leo Allatius, *De Georgius*, p. 391. La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384. Joseph Bianchini, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of Medicis, which we have mentioned note u. Bruckeri *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

¶ It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy; the principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity; and here the platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by Pletho and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of Aristotle lead directly to atheism.

^b See Bessarion's letter in the *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456. Thomasius, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus ejus*, p. 340.

into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

VI. Their system of philosophy was however much less pernicious than that of the aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of Averroes, who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common soul, sapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent being, composed of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. The most eminent among this class of sophists, was Peter Pomponace, a native of Mantua, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant, enterprising spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings, many of which are yet extant, to undermine the principles, and to corrupt the doctrines of religion, was almost universally followed by all the professors of philosophy in the Italian academies. These intricate doctors did not however escape the notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both by the rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their metaphysical notions, took cognisance of them, and called the aristotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious stratagem to extricate themselves out of this embarrassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide distinction between philosophical and theological truth; and maintaining that their sentiments were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, they allowed them to be esteemed *theologically false*, and contrary to the declarations of the gospel. This miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century by Leo X. in a council held at the Lateran.

VII. The *realists* and *nominalists* continued their disputes in France and Germany with more vigour and animosity than ever, and finding reason and argu-

The followers
of Aristotle
maintain their
superiority.

The contro-
versy between

See the very learned Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophicæ*, tom. iv. p. 158.

ment but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method surely, of deciding a metaphysical question. The contest was not only warm, but also universal in its extent; for it infected, almost without exception, all the French and German academies. In most places however the *realists* maintained a manifest superiority over the *nominalists*, to whom they also gave the appellation of *terminists*.^d While the famous Gerson and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the *nominalists* were in high esteem and credit in the university of Paris. But, upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, Lewis XI. by the instigation of his confessor, the bishop of Avranches, issued out a severe edict against the doctrines of the *nominalists*, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be perused by the people.^e But the same monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be delivered from their confinement.^f In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *nominalists* and their writings, but also restored that philosophical sect to its former authority and lustre in the university.^g

the realists
and nominal-
ists continued.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT, DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. THE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the christian church was reduced by the corruption

The vices of
the clergy.

^d See Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904. Jo. Salaberti *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531. Argentre, *Collectio documentor. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

^e Naude's *Additions a l'Histoire de Louis XI.* p. 203. Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678, 705, 708. Launoy's *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. pars i. p. 201, 378.

^f Boulay, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

^g The proofs of this we find in Salaberti's *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104. See also Boulay, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 739, 747.

of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and indeed among all the ecclesiastical order, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censors, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost nothing sound, either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervour against the court of Rome, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

11. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX. who remained at Rome, and Benedict XIII. who resided at Avignon. Upon the death of the former, the *cardinals* of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosbat de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII.^b and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, Angeli Corrario, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed,

The great western schism fomented and continued.

^b Beside the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of Innocent VII. see Leon. Aretin. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6, 19, 21, lib. ii. p. 30, et Colluc. *Salutat.* *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1, 18. edit. Florent. We have also an account of the pontificate of Gregory, in the *Epistles* of the same Aretin, lib. ii. iii. p. 32, ep. vii. p. 30, 41, 51, lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54, 56, 69. Jo. Lami *Delicia Eruditorum.* tom. x. p. 494

and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in a scandalous manner. Benedict XIII. besieged in Avignon by the king of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterward to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted by their pope, went over to the other side, and joining publicly with the cardinals of Gregory XII. they agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council however which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings indeed were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of *one* pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the papal list by the name of Alexander V.ⁱ but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; and Gregory another at Austria, near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians,^k made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Caieta, where he threw himself

ⁱ See Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to. at Amsterdam, in the year 1724. Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350. Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Galliani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

^k He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch Antony Panciarini, and putting Antony du Pont, the bishop of Concordia in his place.

upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples, and in the year 1412, fled from thence to Rimini.

III. Thus was the christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of Pisa, died at Bologna in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by choosing as his successor Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles, both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of John XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expense, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by John XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and also from an expectation, that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this famous council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor Sigismund, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy.¹

¹ The acts of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at Francfort. in the year 1700, by Herman van der Hardt. This collection however is imper-

IV. The great purpose that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand assembly, was the healing of the schism that had so long rent the papacy; and this purpose was happily accomplished. ^{The design and issue of this grand council.} It was solemnly declared in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, by the same decrees, in the most effectual manner.^m This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John XXIII. who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate,ⁿ on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement he had taken, about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In this same year, 1415, Gregory XII. sent to the council of Charles de Malatesta to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, Benedict XIII. was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council,^o and Otta de Colonna raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of Martin V. Benedict, who resided still at Perpignan, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council, which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and

fect, notwithstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many of the *acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces stuffed in among the *acts*, which by no means deserve a place there. The history of this council by Lenfant is composed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at Amsterdam, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the first was published in 1714. The supplement that was given to this history by Bourgeois de Chastenot, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, "Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, ou l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme."

^m For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wise limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexand. *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xv. Diss. iv. Bossuet, *Defens. Sententiæ Cleri Gallican. de Potest. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 2, 23. Lenfant, *Dissert. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson, et le Concile de Constance*, which is subjoined to his history of that council.

ⁿ On the 29th of May, 1415.

^o On the 26th of July, 1417.

the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named Giles Munios, was chosen pope in his place, by two cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of Alphonsus, king of Sicily, and adopted the title of Clement VIII. but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to Martin V.

v. If, from the measures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs,

John Huss.

we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called *heretics*, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation, and which no pretext, no consideration, can render excusable. Before the meeting of this council there were great commotions raised in several parts of Europe, and more especially in Bohemia, concerning religious matters. One of the persons that gave occasion to these disputes was John Huss, who lived at Prague, in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine, who was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed at the same time the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that famous city.^p This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; nor was he singular in this respect; such remonstrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wise and good. Huss however went still farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII. whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of Prague, and the clergy in general, who were warmly at-

^p A Bohemian jesuit, who was far from being favourable to John Huss, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus; "He was more subtile than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability toward persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be." See Bohus. Balbinus, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.

tached to the interests of Gregory, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and the corruptions that prevailed among the sacerdotal order.

vi. Such were the circumstances that first excited the resentment of the clergy against John Huss. This resentment however might have been easily calmed, and perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame, and increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the philosophical opinions of the *realists* and showed his warm attachment to their cause, in a manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting, to the utmost of his power, their adversaries, the *nominalists*, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of Prague.^a He also multiplied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of Prague. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder Charles IV. into four nations, viz. the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had *three suffrages*; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement however had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to themselves the three suffrages, which, according to the

The reasons
that excited
the resent-
ment of the
clergy against
John Huss.

^a See the *Literæ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum VI.* in Baluzii *Miscellar.* tom. iv. p. 534, where we read the following passage; "Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum Regnum suis hæresibus inficere. Quam dicti heretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Ab-bissesslao, Wenceslao, Principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragæ civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem. et ibidem erexerunt universitatem solem-nissimam."

original institution of the university, belonged undoubtedly to the latter. Huss therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an aversion to the *nominalists*, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against this abuse, and employed with success the extraordinary credit he had obtained at court, by his flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of this long and tedious contest was so offensive to the Germans, that a prodigious number of them, with John Hoffman, the rector of the university at their head,^s retired from Prague, and repaired to Leipsic, where Frederic, surnamed the *Wise*, elector of Saxony, erected for them, in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render Huss odious to many, and by the consequences that followed, it was certainly instrumental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had the Germans retired from Prague, than he began, not only to inveigh with greater freedom than he had formerly done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, but even went so far as to recommend, in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of the famous Wickliff, whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in England. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of John XXIII. by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated indeed this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation, and in his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers;^t and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

^r Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he had found a good *goose*, which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs. This was playing upon the word *Huss*, which, in the German language, signifies a *goose*.

^s Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. Aeneas Sylvius reckons five thousand, Trithemius and others two thousand, Dubravius twenty-four thousand, Lupatius forty-four thousand, Lauda, a contemporary writer, thirty-six thousand.

^t See Laur. Byzini *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in Ludw. *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127.


VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of Constance. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies, by the safe conduct which had been granted him by the emperor Sigismund, both for his journey to Constance, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country, John Huss appeared before the council, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of Rome was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at least in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age.* He declaimed indeed with extraordinary vehemence against the Roman pontiffs, the bishops and monks; but this freedom was looked upon as lawful in these times, and it was used every day in the council of Constance, where the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies however of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of Bohemia, and also in the council of Constance, coloured the accusation that was brought against him with such artifice and success, that by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, which commanded him to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415; which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation, expressing in his last moments the noblest feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those transporting promises with which the gospel arms the true christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and con-

John Huss is
burned alive.

* It was observed in the preceding section, that John Huss adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of Wickliff; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the clergy; for in other respects it is certain, that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two sermons he had prepared for the council of Constance.

stancy of mind by Jerome of Prague, the intimate companion of John Huss, who came to this council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, Jerome at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This submission however was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions which he had deserted for a while from a principle of fear, and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416.*

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against Huss and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this conclusion is both natural and well grounded; nor will it be difficult to show how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of Constance were so eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the *first place*, John Huss had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in Bohemia, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they laboured night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could

 * The translator has here inserted into the text the large note ^a of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers; and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.

have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary.^x It may be observed, *secondly*, that in the council of Constance, there were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themselves as personally offended by John Huss, and who demanded his life as the only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance. Huss, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the *realists*, but was peculiarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries. And now he was so unhappy as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally composed of the *nominalists*, with the famous John Gerson at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of Huss. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleasure the *nominalists* felt from an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their *letter* to Lewis, king of France,^y they do not pretend to deny that Huss fell a victim to the resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by the history of the council of Constance. The animosities that always reigned among the *realists* and *nominalists* were at this time carried to the greatest excess imaginable. Upon every occasion that offered, they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and had constantly recourse to corporal punishments to decide the matter. The *nominalists* procured the death of Huss, who was a *realist*; and the *realists*, on the other hand, obtained in the year 1479, the condemnation of John de Wesalia, who was attached to the party of the *nominalists*.^z These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to

^x The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of John Huss, are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Laur. Byzinius, p. 135; see Ludewigi *Reliquiæ*, tom. vi. "Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Bohemiæ et Marchionatu Moraviæ, condemnationem ipsius, *Hussi*, contributione pecuniarum, et modis aliis diversis procuravit et ad ipsius consensit interitum." And again, p. 150. "Clerus perversus regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religiosi ipsius fideles ac salutíferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, simoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributione ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt."

^y See Baluzii *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 534, in which we find the following passage: "Suscitavit Deus Doctores catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersono, et alios quam plures doctissimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerunt hæretici, et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes; dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverunt."

^z See the *Examen Magistrale, et Theologicale Mag. Joh. de Wesalia*, in Ortuini Græti *Fasciculo rerum expellend. et fugiendur.* Colon. 1535, fol. 163.

charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost,^a and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the christian world. The aversion which John Huss and Jerome, his companion, had against the Germans, was a *third* circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at Prague, upon all occasions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of Constance, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms.^b The Germans on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the university of Prague, by the means of John Huss, burned with resentment and rage both against him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Beside, John Hoffman, the famous rector of the university of Prague, whom Huss had been the occasion of expelling from that city, together with the Germans, and who was in consequence thereof become his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of Misnia, in the year 1413, and held in this council the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumstance was also most unfavourable to Huss, and was no doubt in the event detrimental to his cause.

The circumstances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the least colour of equity. It must however be confessed, that there appeared one *mark of heresy* in

^a In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may show us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the *nominalists* and *realists* were now carried. "Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum inter diversa opinantes? Adco ut si universalia quisquam Realia negaverit, existimetur in spiritum sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politium graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?" We see by this passage that the *realists* charged their adversaries, whose only crime was the absurdity of calling *universal ideas* mere *denominations*, with sin against the Holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

^b See Theod. de Niemi, *Invectiva in Joh. XXIII.* in Hardtii *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. "Improperabat etiam in publico Alamannis, dicendo, quod essent. presumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari . . . Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Bohemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanni violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati fuissent."

the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of Rome always considered as a grievous *heresy*, even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults, and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here therefore he resisted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated, with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a *dutiful* son of the church to renounce his eyesight, and to submit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgment and will of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which Pliny observed in his conduct toward the christians. "When they persevered," says he, in his letter to Trajan,^c "I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion that whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment."

viii. Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, was examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together with his

The council
issue out a
decree against
the writings
and ashes of
Wickliff.

^c Plin. *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. "Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset, quod fraterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri."

bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the *cup* from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered "that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind, i. e. *the bread*," and rigorously prohibited the *communion in both kinds*. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of Jacobellius de Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by Peter of Dresden, to administer the Lord's supper in *both kinds*, and was followed in this by several churches.^d The council, being informed of this matter by a certain Bohemian bishop, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this *heresy*; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered the *communion to be administered to the laity but in one kind*, and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of Rome.

ix. In the same year, the opinion of John Petit, a doctor of divinity at Paris,^e who maintained, that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and detestable heresy; but both the name and person of the author were spared, on account of the powerful patrons, under whose protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. John, duke of Burgundy, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to assassinate Lewis, duke of Orleans, only brother of Charles VI. king of France. While the whole city of Paris was in an uproar in consequence of this horrible deed, Petit justified it in a public oration, in presence of the Dauphin and the princes of the blood affirming that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, "in any way, either by violence or fraud, and without any form of law or justice; nay, even in opposition to the most solemn contracts and oaths of fidelity and allegiance." It is however to be observed, that by *tyrants*, this doctor did not mean the supreme rulers of nations, but those more powerful and insolent subjects, who abused their wealth and credit to bring about measures that tended to the dishon-

^d Byzini *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

^e Some historians have erroneously represented Petit as a lawyer. See Dr Smollet's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 462, in 4to.

our of their sovereign and the ruin of their country.^f The university of Paris pronounced a severe and rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of Constance, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff, Martin V. who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of Burgundy, to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince.^g

x. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its *head* and in its *members*, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the council of Constance, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff was elected. And what was still more shocking, the new pontiff, Martin V. was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to

The hopes of a reformation in the church frustrated.

^f This appears manifestly from the very discourse of Petit, which the reader may see in Lenfant's *History of the Council of Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303*. See also August. Lyseri *Diss. qua memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de cæde per dulum vin dicat*. Witteberg. 1785, in 4to.

^g Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. v. p. 113, et passim. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part. ii. p. 184. Gersonis, *Opera a Du Pinio edita*, tom. v. Bayle, *Diction.* tom. iii. p. 2268.

† See also the same author's *History of the Council of Constance*, book iii. §. six.

elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief design of their assembling, and put off to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good christians.

xi. Five years and more elapsed without a council's being called. The remonstrances however of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and Martin V. summoned a council to meet at Pavia, from whence it was removed to Sienna, and from thence to Basil. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431, just about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerus, a native of Venice, and bishop of Sienna, who is known in the papal list by the title of Eugenius IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures that had been entered into by his predecessor, in relation to the assembling of the council of Basil, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of cardinal Julian Cesarini, who performed the functions of president in the place of Eugenius.

The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council, were the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church universal, both in its head and in its members*, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of Constance. For that the Roman pontiffs, who were considered as the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, were become excessively corrupt; and that, to use the expression of the

A council assembled at Basil, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

prophet in a similar case, the *whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint*, was a matter of fact too striking to escape the knowledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council,^b by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting. Eugenius IV. was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he attempted twice the dissolving of the council. These repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between the council and the pope, was terminated, in the month of November, 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from Rome, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority.ⁱ

xii. These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the

The decrees

^b By the form of the council, Dr. Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.

ⁱ The history of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting. The learned Stephen Baluzius, as we find in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544, and after him Mr. Lenfant, promised the world a history of this council; but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise.* The acts of this famous assembly have been collected, with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expense of Rodolphus Augustus, duke of Brunswick, by the very learned and laborious Herman van der Hardt. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at Hanover, and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the Abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were published in 8vo. at Paris, in the year 1512, and which I have made use of in this History, as also the following authors: *Aeneas Sylvii Lib. duo de Concilio Basiliensi*. Edmund Richerius, *Histor. Concilior. General. lib. iii. cap. i.* Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

^{*} Dr. Mosheim has here been guilty of an oversight; for Lenfant did in reality perform his promise, and composed the *History of the Council of Basil*, which he blended with his *History of the War of the Hussites*, on account of the connexion that there was between these two subjects; and also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope of being able to give a full and complete history of the council of Basil again.

and acts of the
council of Ba-
sil.

accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly, that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of Constance, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the *annates*, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called *expectatives*, *reservations*, and *provisions*, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked Eugenius to the highest degree, and made him form a design, either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into Italy, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at Basil, Avignon, or some city in the dutchy of Savoy, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into Italy. Each of the contending parties persevered with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil, the 26th day of July, 1437. in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued out a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. This decree indeed was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of France, and several

other princes, continued its deliberations at Basil, and on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff, for having refused to obey their order.

xiii. In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil. The principal business that was now to be transacted in the pontiff's council, was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in order to bring this salutary and important design to a happy issue, the emperor John Palæologus, the Grecian patriarch, Josephus, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in Italy, and appeared in person at Ferrara. What animated, in a particular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be that as it may, there was little done at Ferrara, where matters were carried on too slowly to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions; but the negotiations were more successful at Florence, whither Eugenius removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at Ferrara. On the other hand, the council of Basil, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; which vigorous measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of Basil, by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of Basil, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Lemane Lake, and who is known in the papal list by the name of Felix V.

The council of
Ferrara held
by Eugenius.

xiv. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of Constance. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of Basil and Florence. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and among others, by the famous university of Paris, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of Basil continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at Basil, Lyons, or Lausanne, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered.

In the mean time the council of Florence, with Eugenius at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose, was the learned Bessarion, who was afterward raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by Eugenius. These conditions required their consent to the following points; "That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity; that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of

the Lord's supper;" and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, "That the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church." Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except Mark of Ephesus, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to Constantinople, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at Florence by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been so imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of Florence put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442,^k without having executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For beside the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

xv. Eugenius IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicholas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spi-

Which is healed under the pontificate of Nicholas V.

^k The history of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian, Sylvester Sgyropulus, whose work was published at the Hague, in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes, by the learned Robert Creighton, a native of Great Britain. This history was refuted by Leo Allatius, in a work, entitled, *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sgyropolo*, Romæ, 1674, 4to. See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesie Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875, as also Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243. Spanhemius. *De perpetua dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. opp. p. 491. Hermann. *Historia concertat. de pane azimo.* part. ii. cap. v. p. 124.

rit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate the European princes, and more especially the king of France, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. For, in the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delicious hermitage at Ripaille, while the farthers of the council of Basil, assembled at Lausanne,¹ ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of Basil. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in Italy, with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from Constantinople into that country.^m The principal occasion of his death was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits, and at length ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year 1455.

xvi. His successor, Alphonsus Borgia, who was a native of Spain, and is known in the papal list by the denomination of Calixtus III. was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the christian princes to make war upon

the Turks; his reign also was short, for he died in

Pius II. the year 1458. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who

succeeded him in the pontificate that same year, under the title of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was indeed tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather per-

¹ The abdication of Felix V. was made on the 9th of April, 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by the assembled fathers at Lausanne.

^m See Dom. Georgii *vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum Monumentorum*; to which is added a treatise, entitled, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. erga literas et literatos viros patrocinio*, published in 4to. at Rome, in the year 1742

haps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of Basil, against Eugenius IV. he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The year following, he obtained from Lewis XI. king of France, the abrogation of the *pragmatic sanction*, which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils, to supremacy in the church.^u But the most egregious instance of

☞ ^u There was a famous edict, entitled, *the pragmatic sanction*, issued out by Lewis IX. who, though he is honoured with a place in the Calendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of Rome have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of Paris, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours, in the year 1483, and by the university of Paris, 1491. See, for a further account of this edict, the excellent *History of France*, begun by the abbe Velly, and continued by M. Villaret, vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. Mosheim has in view here, is the *pragmatic sanction* that was drawn up at Bourges, in the year 1438, by Charles VII. king of France, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grantees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict, which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at Avignon, consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their ancient purity and freedom;* the *annates* and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of Basil, and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation, rendered expedient. Such then was the *pragmatic sanction*, which pope Pius II. engaged Lewis XI. who received upon that occasion, for him and his successors, the title of *most christian*, to abolish, by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was however prevented by the noble stand made by the university of Paris in favour of the *pragmatic sanction*. Lewis also, perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of Geoffry, bishop of Arras, whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind, took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of Rome. So that in reality the *pragmatic sanction* was not abolished before the *concordate*, or agreement, which was transacted between Francis I. and Leo X. in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, Du Clos, *Histoire de Louis XI.* vol. i. p. 115—132.

☞ * That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them, and that by the *pragmatic sanction*, every church had the privilege of choosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the *concordate*, or agreement, between Francis I. and Leo X. which was substituted in the place of the *pragmatic sanction*, the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the kings of France. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop Burnet's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 8, and in a book, entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique Francois*, published in octavo in 1737, and in quarto in 1752.

impudence and perfidy that he exhibited to the world, was in the year 1463, when he published a solemn retractation of all that he had written in favour of the council of Basil, and declared, without either shame or hesitation, that as *Æneas Sylvius*, he was a damnable heretic; but as *Pius II.* he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month of July, in the year 1464.^o

xvii. *Paul II.* a Venetian by birth, whose name was *Peter Bard*, was raised to the head of the church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which, if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise; though it must, at the same time be confessed, that he did many things which were evidently inexcusable, not to mention his reducing the jubilee circle to twenty-five years; and thus accelerating the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation became at least dubious in after times, and was viewed in different lights by different persons.^p The following pontiffs, *Sixtus IV.* and *Innocent VIII.* whose names were *Francis Albescola* and *John Baptist Sibo*, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened Europe in general, and Italy in particular, from the growing power of the *Turks*, they both attempted putting themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance sufficient to require particular notice.

^o Beside the writers of ecclesiastical history, see *Nouveaux Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article *Ence Sylvius*, p. 26.

^p *Paul II.* has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age, the famous cardinal *Luirini*, a zealous apologist. See among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece, entitled, "*Pauli II. Vita ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinum, aliosque obrecratores.*" Romæ, 1740, in 4to

XVIII. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name ^{Alexander VI.} was Roderic Borgia. The life and actions of this man show, that there was a Nero among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this papal Nero, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And though it may be possible, that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and in some instances exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of Alexander VI. odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous Cæsar Borgia. A daughter, named Lucretia, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way.^a Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son Cæsar had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days.^b

^a The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. Alexander Gordon, whose work was translated into French, and published at Amsterdam in 1732. The same subject has however been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ. Eccles. Francois*, to which history are subjoined the lives of Alexander VI. and Leo X.

^b Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of Alexander VI. Voltaire, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove that this pontiff died a natural death.

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were at this time so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious epicureans, whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the benedictine and augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness.^s This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order.^t Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, Nicholas de Mazen, an Austrian abbot, and Nicholas Dunkelspuhl, professor at Vienna, held the first rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the benedictines throughout all Germany, and succeeded so far as to restore, at least, a certain air of decency and virtue, in the monasteries of Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria.^u The reformation of the same order was attempted in France by many, and particularly by Guido, or Guy Juvenal, a learned man, whose writings, upon that and on other subjects, were received with applause.^v It is however certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in France and elsewhere, resisted with obstinacy the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that it was possible to show them.

xx. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, laziness, and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the mendicants, and more especially the dominicans and franciscans, were chargeable

^s See Martini Senging, *Teutiones Ordinis S. Benedicti, seu Oratio in Concilio Basiliensi*, A. 1433, contra vitia Benedict recitata, in Bernh. Pezii *Biblioth. Asectica*. tom. viii. p. 517.

^t See Leibnitii *Præf. ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic.* p. 40.

^u For an account of these reformers, see Martin Kropf. *Bibliotheca Millicensis, seu de ritibus et Scriptis Benedictinorum. Mellicensium*, p. 143, 163, 203, 206.

^v See Liron, *Singularites Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

with irregularities of another kind. Beside their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind, prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling spirit that perpetuated the controversies which had subsisted so long between them and the bishops, and indeed the whole sacerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity and their inordinate passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greatest part of the European academies, complain of the dangerous and destructive errors they had introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of Rome, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtilty of the pontiffs and their ministers. The different pontiffs that ruled the church, during this century, were differently affected toward the mendicants; some patronized them, others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and for a long time rendered the decision of the contest dubious.* The persecution that was carried on against the *beguins* became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the *beguins* and *lollards*, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the franciscans, dominicans, and augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed here; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the *mendicants*, who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred or-

* See Launoii *Lib. de Canone*; *omnis Utriusque Sexus*, opp. tom. i. part i. p. 287. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. v. p. 189, 196, 204, 522, 538, 601, 617, 732. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Ozon.* tom. i. p. 210, 212, 224.

der, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds.^y

xxi. The more austere and rebellious franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of *fratricelli*, or *minorites*, continued, together with their *tertiaries*, the *beggards*, to carry on an open war against the court of Rome. Their headquarters were in Italy, in the marquisate of Ancona, and the neighbouring countries; for it was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted, about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity by pope Nicholas V. who employed every method he could think of to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion.^z This heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by Paul II. though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and sword.^a The *fratricelli*, on the other hand, animated by the protection of several persons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom Angelo of Camaldoli fell a victim to their vengeance.^b Nor were the commotions raised by this troublesome sect confined to Italy; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and Bohemia and Silesia, where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, *that the true imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and extreme poverty*, became the theatre of the

^y See the preceding century.

^z Mauritius Sartius, *De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana*, in Ageli Calogerae *Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39, 81, 97, where we have several extracts from the *Manuscript Dialogue* of Jacobus de Marchia against the *fratricelli*.

^a Ang. Mar. Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78. Jo. Targionius, *Præf. ad Claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43, where we have an account of the books that were written against the *fratricelli* by Nicholas Palmerius and others under the pontificate of Paul II. and which are yet in manuscript.

^b See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Maii, p. 336

spiritual war.^c The king of Bohemia was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by Paul II.^d In France, their affairs were far from being prosperous; such of them as fell into the hands of the inquisitors were committed to the flames,^e and they were eagerly searched after in the province of Thoulouse, and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to escape the vigilance of their enemies; while several of their scattered parties removed to England and Ireland.^f The dreadful series of calamities and persecutions that pursued this miserable sect was not sufficient to extinguish it entirely; for it subsisted until the times of the reformation in Germany, when its remaining votaries adopted the cause, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Luther.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deserves a more honourable mention, than the *brethren and clerks of the common life*, as they called themselves, who lived under the rule of St. Augustin, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion, learning, and virtue. This society had been formed in the preceding age by Gerard de Groote, a native of Deventer,^g and a man remarkable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition: it was not however before the present century, that it received a proper degree of consistence, and having obtained the approbation of the council of Constance, flourished in Holland, the Lower Germany, and, the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two classes, the *lettered brethren*, or *clerks*, and the *illiterate*, who though they occupied separate habitations, lived in the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The *clerks* applied themselves with exemplary zeal and assiduity to the study of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They composed learned works for the instruction of their contemporaries,

^c Jo. Georgii Schellhornii *Acta Historica Eccles.* part i. p. 66, 283.

^d Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

^e I have in manuscript in my possession, the acts, or decrees of the *Inquisition* against John Gudulchi de Castellione and Francis de Archata, both of them *fratricelli*, who were burnt in France in the year 1454.

^f Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232.

^g The life of this famous Dutchman, Gerard Groote, was written by Thomas a Kempis, and is to be found in his Works. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were composed by this eminent writer

and erected schools and seminaries of learning wherever they went. The *illiterate brethren*, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour, and exercised with success the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes were under the restraint of religious *vows*; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The *sisters* of this virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and employed the hours, that were not consecrated to prayer and reading, in the education of young girls, and in branches of industry suitable to their sex. The schools, that were erected by the *clerks* of this fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation in this century. From them issued forth those immortal restorers of learning and taste that gave a new face to the republic of letters in Germany and Holland, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Alexander Hegius, John Murnelius, and several others.^b The institution of the order of the *jesuits* seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which from that period began to decline, and of which there are at this time but very few remaining. The *brethren of the common life* were frequently called *beghards* and *lollards*, appellations that had been given to so many different sects, and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpressible aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste.ⁱ

The Greek
writers.

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by their learned productions, the most eminent were,

Simeon of Thessalonica, the author of several treatises, and among others of a book against the *heresies* that had troubled the church: to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant;^k

^b Accounts of this order have been given by Aub. Mirens, in his *Chronicon*, ad A. 1384, and by Helyot, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts, which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

ⁱ We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the *lollards*, and sometimes by the *beghards*, at Deventer, Brunswic, Koningsberg, and Munster, and many other places. Now these *lollards*, were the *clerks of the common life*, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

^k Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49. Ricu. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 409.

Josephus Bryennius, who wrote a book *concerning the Trinity*, and another against the Latins;

Macarius Macres, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

George Phranza, whose historical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians;

Marcus Ephesius, who was an obstinate enemy to the council of Florence;

Cardinal Bessarion, the illustrious protector and supporter of the platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition; but much hated by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former;^m

George Scholarius, otherwise called Gennadius, who wrote against the Latins, and more especially against the council of Florence, with more learning, candour, and perspicuity than the rest of his countrymen;ⁿ

George Gemistius Pletho, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the study, not only of the platonic philosophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general;

George of Trapesond, who translated several of the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen;

George Codinus, of whom we have yet remaining several productions relating to the Byzantine history.

xxiv. The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned or dishonoured this century, is not to be numbered.

We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumeration of those who wrote upon theological matters, and even of these we shall only mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and

^l Rich. Simon, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 431.

^m For an account of Bessarion, and the other learned men here mentioned, see Borerus and Hody, in their histories of the restoration of letters in Italy, by the Greeks that took refuge there after the taking of Constantinople; add to these the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

ⁿ Rich. Simon, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 87, and *Critique de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 438.

whose memory is yet precious to such among the French, as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism.* This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church; though, in some respects, he does not seem to have understood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the gospel of Christ. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

Nicholas de Clemangis, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the christian church;†

Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, who loaded the holy scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

Ambrose of Camalduli, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

Nicholas de Cusa, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not so famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his, entitled, *Conjectures concerning the last day*;‡

John Nieder, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the age in which he lived, and whose voyages and transactions have rendered him famous;

John Capistran, who was in high esteem at the court of Rome, on account of the ardour and vehemence with

* See Du Pin, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the works of Gerson, which we owe to that laborious author, and which was published at Antwerp in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See also Jo. Lannoii *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarrensi*, part iii. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514, tom. iv. part i. opp. Herm. van der Hardt, *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part iv. p. 26.

† See Lannoii *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* part iii. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436. The Works of Clemangis were published, some pieces excepted, at Leyden, with a glossary, in the year 1631, by Lydius.

‡ Bayle, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517. The works of Nicholas were published, in one volume, at Basil, in the year 1665.

which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers;^r

John Wesselus and Jerome Savanarola, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former, who was a native of Groningen, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and sagacity was called the *light of the world*, propagated several of those doctrines, which Luther afterward inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman church.^s The latter was a dominican and a native of Ferrara, remarkable for piety, eloquence, and learning, who touched the sores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at Florence in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind;^t

Alphonsus Spina, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, John Capreolus, John de Turrecremata, Antoninus of Florence, Dionysius a Ryckel, Henry Gorcomius, Gabriel Biel, Stephen Brulifer, and others. The most remarkable among the mystics were, Vincentius Ferrerinus, Henr. Harphius, Laurentius Justinianus, Bernardinus Senensis, and Thomas a Kempis, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book *concerning the Imitation of Christ*, is commonly attributed.^u

^r Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254. Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

^s Jo. Henr. Maii *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156.

^t B. Jo. Franc. Buddei *Parerga Historico Theologica*. The life of Savanarola was written by J. Francis Picus, and published in two volumes, 8vo. at Paris, with various annotations, letters, and original pieces by Quetif, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at Paris, that same year, the *Spiritual and Ascetic Epistles of Savanarola*, translated from the Italian into Latin. See Echard, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 884.

^u The late abbe Langlet de Fresnoy promised the world a demonstration that this famous book, whose true author has been so much disputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a person named Gersen, or Gerson, and only translated into Latin by Thomas a Kempis. See Granetus in *Launoianis*, part ii. tom. iv. part ii. opp. p. 414, 415. The history of this famous book is given by Vincentius Thullierius, in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinarti*, tom. iii. p. 54.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF RELIGION, AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never presume to deny. Among the Greeks and orientals, religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the Latins; at least, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being considerable. The worship of the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public, were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extravagant inventions. The reputation of christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; it was lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, and their ghostly head the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints, i. e. the clergy, their ministers, propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papal questors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression; or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of *ordinary* piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification, were placed in the highest order of worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had much difficulty in escaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.

II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality throughout almost all the western provinces, was observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In England and Scotland, the disciples of Wickliff, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of *lollards*, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy.* The *waldenses*, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices even in the remote vallies and lurking places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy, many, and among others the famous Savanarola, had the courage to declare, that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these importunate censors, by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

Defenders of
the true reli-
gion raised by
Providence in
several places.

III. The religious dissensions that had been excited in Bohemia by the ministry of John Huss and his disciple Jacobellus de Misa, were doubly inflamed by the deplorable fate of Huss and Jerome of Prague, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Huss, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the court of Rome, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of Bechin, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper *under both kinds*. This mountain they called

Commutations
in Bohemia.

* See Wilkins, *Constitutiones Britannicæ et Hibernicæ*, tom. iv. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. ii. p. 202, 204.

Tabor, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and in process of time they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well built and regular city. Nor did they stop here; but, forming more grand and important projects, they chose for their chiefs Nicholas of Hussinet, and the famous John Ziska, a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution; and proposed, under the standards of these valiant leaders, to revenge the death of Huss and Jerome upon the creatures of the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worshipping God in a more rational manner than that which was prescribed by the church of Rome. After the death of Nicholas, which happened in the year 1420, Ziska commanded alone this warlike body, and had the satisfaction to see his army increase from day to day. During the first tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, departed this life in the year 1419.^x

iv. The emperor Sigismund, who succeeded him in the throne of Bohemia, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws, and the force of arms, to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with Ziska at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the hussites chose for their general Procopius Rasa, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause, and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for, not-

^x This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of Constance against the hussites, than the inhabitants of Prague took fire at this proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages, which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

withstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained that Huss had been unjustly put to death at Constance, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it, nevertheless, as an incontestable principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital punishment; but they denied obstinately that Huss was a *heretic*. This pernicious maxim then, was the source of that cruelty that dishonoured the exploits of both the parties in this dreadful war; and it is perhaps difficult to determine, which of the two carried this cruelty to the greatest height.

v. All those who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, set out upon the same principles, and at the commencement of the war, they ^{The calix-} seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments, and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished, and their army being prodigiously augmented, by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of *calixtines* and *laborites*. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the *cup*, or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings, and modest in their demands, and showed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, *first*, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; *secondly*, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered *in both kinds*; *thirdly*, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of

riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and *fourthly*, that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or *mortal sins*, should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction however there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's supper was one occasion of dispute; Jacobellus de Misa, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years.¹

vi. The demands of the *taborites*, who derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history, were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity; but required also, that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed; they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the *taborites*, such as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion, that Christ would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the hussites in general, and to their two leaders Ziska and Procopius in particular.² It must indeed be acknowledged, that a

¹ Byzini *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130.

² From the following opinions and maxims of the taborites, which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Byzinius, we may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity; "Omnes leges Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad

great part of the hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of Basil endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that purpose invited the Bohemians to their assembly. The commo-
tions in Bohe-
mia terminat-
ed. The Bohemians, accepting this invitation, sent ambassadors, and among others Procopius their leader, to represent them in that council. But, after many warm debates, these messengers of peace returned without having effected any thing that might even prepare the way for a reconciliation so long and so ardently desired. The *calixtines* were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the *taborites* to yield. This matter however was transacted with more success by Æneas Sylvius and others, whom the council sent into Bohemia to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by allowing the *calixtines* the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart, and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the *taborites* remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the artifice nor eloquence of Sylvius, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it. From this period indeed they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a design to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great

quarum executionem fideles sunt provocandi. In isto tempore ultionis Christus in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores, sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione. In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, *quantumcumque spiritualis, est maledictus*, qui gladium suum corporalem prohibet a sanguine adversariorum legis Christi, sed debet manus suas lavare in eorum sanguine et sanctificare." From men, who adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be expected but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader may consult, beside the ancient writers, such as Sylvius, Theobaldus, Cochläus, and others, Lenfant, *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, which was published at Amsterdam in two volumes in 4to in the year 1731. To this history it will however be advisable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of Byzinius, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the candour and impartiality with which it is composed, and which Mr. Lenfant does not seem to have consulted. This valuable production has been published, though incomplete, in the sixth volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum* of the very learned John Peter Ludwig. See also Beausobre's supplement to the *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, Lausanne, 1745, in 4to

prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the gospel, and banished from their communion all those whose disordered brains, or licentious manners might expose them to reproach.^a The *taborites*, thus new modelled, were the same with those *Bohemian brethren*, or *piccards*, i. e. *beghards*, as their adversaries called them, who joined Luther and his successors at the reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the descendants and followers in Poland and other countries.

VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse; or rather delude their readers with *mystical* and *allegorical* fancies. At the head of this class of writers is Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. Laurentius Valla is entitled to a more favourable judgment, and his small collection of *Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament* is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors, the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of Europe, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light, that

^a See Adriani Regenvolschii *Historia Eccles. provinciar. Sclavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165. Joach Camerarii *Historica Narratio de fratribus Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia*, Heidebb. 1605, in 4to. Jo. Lasitii *Historia fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I possess in manuscript, and of which the eighth book was published in Svo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1640.

could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

ix. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining, of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures, and the sentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly, various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *schoolmen* increased from day to day. The mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty of the schoolmen with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous Gerson, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries,^b as also by Savanarola, Petrus de Alliaco, and Nicholas Cusanus, whose treatise concerning *learned ignorance* is still extant.

The scholastic divines and moralists hated and opposed.

^b Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 269, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 491. Thomasii *Origines Histor. Philos.*, p. 56, and principally Gersonis *Methodus Theologum Stultentli*, in Leunoi *Historia Gymnas. Navarrensi*, tom. iv. opp. part i. p. 330.

x. The litigious herd of schoolmen found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of eloquence and letters, who were not all however of the same opinion with respect to the manner of treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them covered with ridicule, and loaded with invectives, the scholastic doctrine, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was Paulus Cortesius, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and clothes the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style.^c But after all, the scholastic theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the dominicans and franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

xi. This vain philosophy however grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while, at the same time, the *mystics* gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were indeed certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagances that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as Thomas a Kempis, the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by Luther, Laurentius, Justinianus, Savanarola, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as Vincentius, Ferrerius, Henricus Harphius, and Bernard Senensis, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fan-

Principally by the restorers of polite literature and eloquence;

^c This work was published in folio at Rome in the year 1512, and at Basil in 1513.

cy, as also the visions of Dionysius, whom the *mystics* consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The *mystics* were defended against their adversaries, the dialecticians, partly by the platonics, who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered Dionysius as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in Marcilius Ficinus, whose name adds a lustre to the platonic school. The latter attempted a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the *mystics*; and in this class were John Gerson, Nicholas Cusanus, Dionysius the carthusian, and others.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of Marcilius Ficinus, *concerning the Truth of Christianity*. Savanarola's *Triumph of the Cross*, the *Natural Theology* of Raymond de Sabunde, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by Perezius and Jerome de St. Foi, the Saracens by Johannes de Turrecremata, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by Alphonsus de Spina, in his work, entitled, *The Fortress of Faith*. Nor were these pious labours in the defence of the gospel at all unseasonable or superfluous; on the contrary, the state of things at this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one hand, the aristotelian philosophers in Italy seemed, in their public instructions, to strike at the foundations of all religion; and on the other hand, the senseless subtilties and quarrels of the schoolmen, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

The state of
polemic or
controversial
divinity.

xiii. We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and Latin churches. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, Nicholas V. exhorted and entreated them again to turn their thoughts toward the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, Constantinople was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks; an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation, they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

xiv. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the *kind* of worship that was to be paid to the blood of Christ, which was first kindled at Barcelona, in the year 1351, between the franciscans and dominicans, and had been left undecided by Clement VI.^d This controversy was now renewed at Brixen, in the year 1462, by Jacobus a Marchia, a celebrated franciscan, who

The schism
between the
Latins and
Greeks not yet
healed.

The intestine
divisions and
contests of the
Latins.

^d Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 56. Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Predicator* tom. i. p. 650.

maintained publicly, in one of his sermons, that the *blood*, which Christ shed upon the cross, did not belong to the *divine nature*, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of *divine* and immediate *worship*. The dominicans rejected this doctrine; and adopted, with such zeal, the opposite side of the question, that James of Brix-en, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the franciscan before his tribunal, and accused him of *heresy*. The Roman pontiff, Pius II. having made several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy, was at last persuaded to submit the matter to the examination and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause of their respective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same time, "That both sides of the question might be lawfully held, until Christ's *vicar* upon earth should find leisure and opportunity for examining the matter, and determining on what side the truth lay." This *leisure* and *opportunity* have not as yet been offered to the pontiffs."

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE RITES AND CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

1. THE state of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of Simeon of Thessalonica, *concerning Rites and Ceremonies*,^e from ^{Rites of the Greek church.} which it appears, that the substance of religion was lost among that people; that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was substituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worship were ordered in such a manner as to strike the imaginations and

^e Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206. Nat. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xv.* p. 17.

^f J. A. Fabricius gives us an account of the contents of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54

captivate the senses of the multitude. They pretended indeed to allege several reasons for multiplying as they did the external rights and institutions of religion; and casting over the whole of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly splendour. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtilty and invention, without the least appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rights, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonourable. And such as, by force of ill applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of their overgrown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III. to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the victorious arms of Mahomet II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456. the festival in honour of the *transfiguration* of Christ, which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period, to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And Sixtus IV. in the year 1476, granted *indulgences*, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin*, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment.^g The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, re-

^g See Raph. Volaterrani *Comment. Urbani*, lib. viii. c. 239. Æneas Sylvius, *De Statu Europæ sub Frederico III.* cap. 5. in *Freheri Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 194.

lating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, the traffic of *indulgences*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere show, to a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE HERESIES, SECTS, AND DIVISIONS THAT TROUBLED THE CHURCH DURING THIS CENTURY.

I. NEITHER the severe edicts of the pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of the unrelenting *inquisitors*, could extirpate the remains of ^{Manicheans and waldenses.} the ancient heresies, or prevent the rise of new sects. We have already seen the franciscan order at open war with the church of Rome. In Bosnia, and the adjacent countries, the manicheans, or paulicians, who were the same with the sect named in Italy, *catharists*, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true indeed, that the great protector of the manicheans, Stephen Thomascus, king of Bosnia, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of John Carvaialus, a Roman cardinal, and, in consequence thereof, expelled these heretics out of his dominions. But it is also certain, that he afterward changed his mind; and it is well known, that, toward the conclusion of this century, the manicheans inhabited Bosnia, Servia, and the neighbouring provinces. The *waldenses* also still subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in Pomerania, Brandenburg, the district of Magdeburg and Thuringia, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers. It appears however by authentic records, which are not yet published, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate sect, in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the *inquisitors*, and delivered over by them to the civil magistrates, who committed them to the flames.

II. The *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, who were called in Germany, *beghards* or *schwestriones*; and

schwestriones,
picards, and
adamites.

in France, *turelupins*, and whose distinctive character was a species of mysticism that bordered upon phrensy, wandered about in a secret and disguised manner in several parts of France, Germany, and Flanders, and particularly in Suabia, and Switzerland, where they spread the contagion of their enthusiasm, and caught the unwary in their snares. The search however that was made after them was so strict and well conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical sect escaped the hands of the *inquisitors*.^b When the war between the *hussites* and the votaries of Rome broke out in Bohemia, in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics, with a person at their head whose name was John, repaired thither, and held secret assemblies, first at Prague, and afterward in different places, from whence they at length retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and showed, that the mind was not sufficiently *purified* nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark naked, and conversed, familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the *beghards*, whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of that word, called *picards* when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely naked,

^b Felix Malleolus, whose German name is *Haemmerlein*, in his account of the *lollards*, which is subjoined to his book, *Contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. against the sturdy beggars, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a list, though a very imperfect one, of the *beghards* that were committed to the flames in Switzerland, and the adjacent countries, during this century. This author, in his books against the *beghards* and *lollards*, has, either through design, or by a mistake founded on the ambiguity of the terms, confounded together three different classes of persons, who were usually known by the appellation of *beghards* and *lollards*; as 1st, the *tertiaries*, or third order of the more austere franciscans; 2dly, the *brethren of the free spirit*; and 3dly, the *cellite* or *alexian* friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

without any sort of veil or covering at all. They had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which indeed was very suitable to the genius of the religion they professed, viz. *that they were not free*, i. e. sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body, *who made use of garments, particularly such garments as covered the thighs and the parts adjacent*. These horrible tenets could not but cast a deserved reproach upon this absurd sect; and though nothing passed in their religious assemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence, and of the most lascivious practices. Ziska, the austere general of the hussites, gave credit to these suspicions, and to the rumours they occasioned; and falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames, which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most cheerful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed in a degree that seems to surpass credibility.ⁱ Among the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of *adamites* was one; and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was originally created. The ignominious term of *beghards*, or *picards*, which was at first peculiar to the small sect of which we now treat, was afterward applied to the *hussites*, and to all the Bohemians who opposed the tyranny of the Roman church. All these were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, *picard friars*.

ⁱ See Jo. Lasitii *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum*, MS. lib. ii. § lxxvi. who proves, in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the *hussites* and the *bohemian brethren* were entirely distinct from these *picards*, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this subject are honourably mentioned by Isaac de Beausobro in his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Boheme*, which is subjoined to Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This learned author is at vast pains in justifying the *picards*, or Bohemian *adamites*, whom he supposes to have been the same with the *waldenses*, and a set of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is manifestly endeavouring to wash the Ethiopian white. For it may be demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of these times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, whose acquaintance with the history of the middle age was but superficial, and who was, by no means, exempt from prejudice and partiality.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise, and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthusiasm, arose about the beginning of this century. A certain priest, whose name is not known, descended from the Alps,* arrayed in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of *fratres albat*i, i. e. *white brethren*. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the European nations to renew the war against the Turks in Palestine, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions, which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of heaven. Boniface IX. apprehending that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views,¹ had him seized and committed to the flames, upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority

☞ * Theodoric de Niem tells us, that it was from Scotland that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. Sigonius and Platina inform us, that this enthusiast came from France; that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers, called *penitents*, among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol.* ap. Muratori. Niem. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

☞ ¹ What Dr Mosheim hints but obscurely here is farther explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing lest the priest who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt.

maintain the innocence of this sectary, while others assert that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes.^m

iv. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in Flanders, and more especially at Brussels, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was ^{The men of understanding.} Ægidius Cantor, and to William of Hildenissen, a carmelite monk, and whose members were distinguished by the title of *men of understanding*. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions, denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the holy scriptures, without the extraordinary succours of a divine illumination: declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the gospel of Christ; maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of Jesus, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were: that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that of the *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which showed, that they were not totally void of *understanding*; for they maintained, among other things, “1st. That Christ alone had merited eternal life and felicity for the human race, and that therefore men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone; 2dly. that the priests, to whom the people confessed their transgressions, had not the power of absolving them, but that it was Christ alone in whom this authority was vested; and 3dly. that voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation.” These propositions however and some others, were de-

^m See Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102. Poggia, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122. Marc. Anton. Sabellicus in *Enneadibus Rhapsodiæ Historiæ*, *Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. opp. p. 839. published in folio at Basil in the year 1560.

clared *heretical* by Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, who obliged William of Hildenissen to abjure them,ⁿ and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

v. The sect of the *flagellantes*, or *whippers*, continued to excite commotions in Germany, more especially in Thuringia and the Lower Saxony; but these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the same name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new *whippers* rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in *faith* and *flagellation*; to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the *evil spirit*, and other matters, which are not explained with sufficient perspicuity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in Thuringia was Conrad Schmidt, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames,* in the year 1414, by Henry Schonefeld, who was, at that time, inquisitor in Germany, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy. Nicholas Schaden suffered at Quedlingburg for his attachment to this sect. Berthold Schade, who was seized at Halberstadt, in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine;^p and we find in the records of these unhappy times a numerous list of the *flagellantes*, whom the German inquisitors devoted to the flames.

ⁿ See the records of this transaction in Steph. Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

^o *Excerpta Monachi Pirnensis.* in J. Burch. Menkinii *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521. *Chron. Monaster.* in Anton. Matthæi *Analect. vet ævi*, tom. v. p. 71. *Chron. Magdeb.* in Meibomii *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362. From sixteen articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of Brandenburg, in the year 1411, and which Conrad Schmidt is said to have taken from the papers of Walkenried, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine, of which the substance is as follows; "That the opinions adopted by the Roman church, with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points, are entirely false and groundless; and that the person, who believes what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation."

^p See the account of this matter which is given by the learned Jo. Ernest Kappius, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. 1747, p. 475.

